







**A MILITARY TOUR**  
**IN**  
**EUROPEAN TURKEY,**

*&c. &c. &c.*





A MILITARY TOUR  
IN  
EUROPEAN TURKEY,  
THE CRIMEA,

AND ON  
THE EASTERN SHORES OF THE BLACK SEA:

INCLUDING  
ROUTES ACROSS THE BALKAN INTO BULGARIA, AND EXCURSIONS  
IN THE TURKISH, RUSSIAN, AND PERSIAN PROVINCES  
OF THE CAUCASIAN RANGE;

With Strategical Observations  
ON THE PROBABLE SCENE OF THE OPERATIONS OF THE  
ALLIED EXPEDITIONARY FORCE.

BY  
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WITH MAPS.

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# MILITARY TOUR,

ETC.

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## CHAPTER I.

SHORES OF THE DARDANELLES—LAND DEFENCES—GULF OF SAROS  
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OF BARON VALENTINI.

IN the year 1836, I passed some time on the shores of the Dardanelles, where I was struck by the unprotected condition of the vast batteries on the European side towards the land, showing clearly that at the period of their construction the Ottoman Government had only anticipated a naval attack from the powers of Western Europe. Even the recent Russian war of 1828-9, which brought the enemy so near the Dardanelles as Rodosto and Enos, did not arouse the Turks to a sense of their danger from that quarter; and, in fact, as soon as the treaty of Adrianople was signed, the late Sultan ceased to think of defending himself against the Russians, and he was confirmed in this infatuation by the aid he received from the Czar in 1833, at the period of Mehemet Ali's defection.

In observing this great omission in the land defences of the Straits, I devoted my attention to the consideration of the peninsula which forms their European boundary, and it immediately occurred to me that, in the event of a new war with Russia, it would be most important to bar all access to this peninsula by land, if the nature of the country were favourable to such an object. Proceeding to the isthmus, which joins the peninsula to the mainland, I found that at one point between the Straits and the Gulf of Saros, at a distance of about six miles from Gallipoli, the land, which is here rather less than three miles in breadth, slopes down both on the side of the peninsula and on that of the mainland, forming a valley or hollow which runs nearly across the isthmus, only interrupted in one place where a low and narrow ridge connects the opposite heights. This seemed a very suitable locality for a line of works, by which the peninsula would be rendered impregnable by land, whilst its defenders would be placed in secure possession of the neighbouring straits. Ascending at the same time a height in the line of the projected works, which resembles an artificial tumulus, I saw that the shore of the peninsula, along the Gulf of Saros, might also be easily protected by batteries. These remarkable topographical facts, placing the Dardanelles strategically in a new point of view, had been entirely overlooked by those military travellers who had made this locality the subject of observation. I did not fail to comment upon them at the time ; but as little attention

was then bestowed upon anything connected with what has since become an object of such deep and absorbing interest, I usually found myself listened to with coldness and indifference, if not with absolute inattention. In the early summer of 1853, however, the case became widely different, and being at Constantinople some time before the Russians entered the Principalities, I communicated fully, in an official quarter, where every representation which seems important to the service of this country is received with encouragement and acted upon with promptitude, all questions of a professional character connected with the defence of Turkey, which were suggested to me by the crisis. [See Appendix, No. I.] These, among other points, referred to the protection of the Dardanelles on the land sides, should the straits be menaced from thence by an advancing Russian column from Adrianople, when our fleet might be elsewhere; and, indeed, a fleet alone, even if always present, could hardly exclude a land-force from the peninsula, or avert the fatal consequences attendant on its occupation.

An attentive and patient reception was given to my representations, and very soon afterwards I was assured, that no time had been lost in putting my suggestions in a way to be useful: nor did they fail to receive the same attention at home [see Appendix, Nos. II. and III.], now that the situation of affairs had become so critical. Early in the present year, indeed, a commission under a distinguished officer of high rank and of profound scientific knowledge was despatched to

Constantinople, where, after communicating with a similar assemblage of French officers, already arrived there, I had the gratification of learning that operations had been commenced by their repairing direct to Gallipoli, and selecting a line of defence in the very locality which I had so recently indicated; thus having the correctness of my views confirmed by the very highest authority.

There are several points on the neighbouring shores of the archipelago to the north-west where troops could be landed without passing up the Dardanelles, and whence they could move direct upon Adrianople or its neighbourhood, which is the best position for a great reserve dépôt. Of these, Enos appears at first sight the most convenient, being nearer Adrianople than any other, with the advantage of being also close to the river Mariza and its shores, which could be made available for the purposes of transport. The small gulf, or bay, in which Enos stands, is, however, extremely shallow; and that of Lagos, bounded by the Red Cape and Cape Fanari, is on this ground much to be preferred, having a depth of about nine fathoms near its entrance, and three fathoms even close to the shore; but the routes between Lagos and Adrianople should be well examined before they are used.

A few words may be said on the straits of the Dardanelles generally, which are nearly fifty-five miles in length, with a breadth varying from four and a half miles in the broadest part, to less than a mile in the narrowest, at the point occupied by the town of the

Dardanelles. The shores, from their windings and sinuosities, are peculiarly adapted for the erection of defences towards the water, which would be nearly impenetrable; but those now existing are insufficient to arrest the progress of a naval force, favoured by a steady breeze, even when not aided by the power of steam. The wind, it may be observed, is generally with the current, which is very strong.

The strongest batteries, on both shores, have from the first been situated in the narrowest part of the strait, nearly at the town of the Dardanelles, and face each other. They are very ancient, and form the centre of the defences at that point, while numerous batteries, of a more ordinary description erected below them, are, though considerable in extent, placed so unskilfully, that it is believed an enemy could quickly render them untenable. Favourable situations are, however, by no means wanting, though they have not been turned to account; and batteries erected farther back from the shore would, from the direction of the heights, be able to enfilade in succession the length of the strait, keeping vessels under fire for a considerable time before they could return it. The batteries at Nagara, the ancient Abydos, should be greatly augmented; and the castles of the Dardanelles require to be extensively repaired, and should, perhaps, be entirely reconstructed on more scientific principles. The monster pieces of cannon planted here on low platforms, without carriages, though of such large calibre, are of very little use; and their enormous stone balls, being

thrown in a direction perpendicular to the strait, so as only to admit of a single shot being fired at a vessel in passing, are, on the whole, a useless kind of projectile. This armament ought to be exchanged for one thoroughly manageable and efficient, as the defence it affords is more imaginary than real, although, from other causes, a hostile disembarkation at this point would be extremely difficult.

The castle and batteries at the town of the Dardanelles, might be covered towards the land by an extensive regular fortification, which could sustain a siege in form, the space being sufficient for the erection of a bastioned fortress, while there are no heights so near as to command it to any decisive extent. Fort Nagara could be covered with equal facility by batteries disposed in several small fronts of fortification, which might be erected where the ground affords a natural line of defence; and a small isolated fort, and an enclosed battery, at the extremity of the plateau, would combine their fire with that of Nagara, constituting a land defence altogether baffling to any but a systematic attack by a powerful force.

Koomkaleh, at the mouth of the Dardanelles, on the Asiatic shore, admits of similar defences towards the land.\* These strong points on that coast could, indeed, if thus strengthened, be held by the force which might

\* Since these observations were first penned, a square redoubt has been erected on a height behind fort Nagara, having its front towards the country; two bastion-shaped works, which it commands, and another work, are in progress behind the castle of the town of the Dardanelles.

have possession of the peninsula of Gallipoli, if an attempt should be made to turn the position on that side. Such are the opinions of all experienced officers who have visited this locality.

There are several harbours above the Dardanelles, on the European shore of the Sea of Marmora.\* Of these, the best for the disembarkation of troops, is Rodosto, and a little nearer Constantinople, Silivria, which is frequented by sloops of good size, and might receive supplies. The various islands in that inland sea also afford sufficient anchorage, as described in various books of sailing-directions.

About the time that I visited the Dardanelles I made an excursion from Constantinople into Bulgaria, noting, as I rode along, all that appeared of professional interest in the country through which I passed. It was the beginning of November when I set out; but I found the passes of the Balkan quite practicable as regarded snow, though this is not always the case at that season. Excepting an occasional rainy day, I travelled agreeably enough over the plains on both sides of the mountains. On leaving the old Gothic-looking walls of Constantinople [see Appendix No. IV.], which, as they now stand, would afford very brief means of defence, the Adrianople road carried me over a bleak tract of undulating country, resembling our downs, but deeply furrowed in many places with steep ravines, and showing few vestiges of habitation beyond an occasional chiflik, or farm-yard, enclosed by a solid

Often spelt Marmara.



wall, and generally containing several dwellings and sheds for cattle. These enclosures might often serve for posts, but they could hardly resist artillery; although there is a method employed in the East of digging outside the wall a deep ditch, and throwing the earth up to a certain height against it, which would, in some degree, deaden the fire, at the same time that the ditch formed by the excavation adds an obstacle, compensating for the facility which the earth thrown up within would otherwise give to an escalade.

The road passes at no great distance from the shore of the Sea of Marmora, and at about ten miles from the city walls, I reached the crest of one of the elevated downs, commanding a view of an extensive lake, about seven miles in length by two in breadth, bordered with marshy land, and stretching from the sea into the country, in the direction of the ridge called the Lesser Balkan, which lies to the north. The lake is separated from the sea, at its south-western extremity, by a low ledge, not many yards in breadth, traversed by the ancient highway, now in a ruinous state, and supported in some places on low arches, through which the brackish water passes and repasses, according to the direction of the wind between the sea and the lake. The causeway would easily be closed artificially, when seven miles of country would be rendered unassailable by an enemy; for although boats might navigate these lakes to a certain extent, its marshy shores must always render navigation difficult, even if such vessels were at hand, which hitherto has not been the case. This spot.

which the Turks call Kuchuk Chekmagee, is designated by the Franks Ponte Piccolo, to distinguish it from the greater bridge crossing the isthmus at Buyuk Chekmagee, or Ponte Grande, the second lake, about six and a half miles further on towards Adrianople.

The ledge at Ponte Piccolo is about three-quarters of a mile in length ; but the lake expands very considerably further up, and at the distance of four miles is broken into a fork, each branch being fed by a stream which flows from the highlands to the north. Proceeding over the ledge, a country of heights and valleys, becoming bolder to the northward, extends for about six or seven miles, when the second lake, of equal length, but somewhat narrower than the first, presents itself, divided like the other from the sea by a narrow ledge supporting a bad causeway, the centre of which rests on the large bridge before mentioned. From the brow or crest of the heights above, which are lower than those at Kuchuk Chekmagee, but which command the ledge at a very short distance, a zigzag path leads down to the village of Buyuk Chekmagee. Standing at this point, the spectator is immediately impressed with the conviction of the great strength of such a pass, and of its immense utility to Turkey if turned to proper account, being, as it were, the abutment on which the left flank of a fine position rests, covering the capital from an enemy in this direction—a capital which, once attained by a hostile army, would involve most probably in its own ruin the fall of the Ottoman empire in Europe. Yet the Turks do not seem to have

ever noticed these natural defences, nor to have made the slightest use of them. Even the European officers in Turkey, at the period of the military operations of 1829, whose conversance with military science should have led them to discern these positions, could not have pointed them out to the retreating Ottomans; an omission, or rather oversight, which led to the most disastrous consequences, as the Turkish government, through sheer fear of the capture of Constantinople when the Russians were still distant, entered into the unfavourable treaty of Adrianople.

On visiting the spot after that period, I did not fail myself to draw attention to these positions, which appears to be the first specific notice they received. A recent writer, indeed, has described the locality as “that formidable position about twenty miles from the capital, so celebrated in history, where, owing to the nature of the ground, Attila was stayed in his march to conquer the Eastern empire; and where, at a later period, the Huns\* were signally defeated by Belisarius.” In reference to this statement, however, it must be observed that, as regards the advance of Attila, Gibbon especially mentions that he was only arrested by the city walls of Constantinople, without alluding to any position whatever. The following is the passage in Gibbon:—

“The armies of the Eastern empire were vanquished in three successive engagements, and the progress of Attila may be traced by the fields of battle. The two

\* *i. e.*, Bulgarians.

first, on the banks of the Utus and under the walls of Marcianopolis, were fought in the extensive plains between the Danube and Mount Hæmus. As the Romans were pressed by a victorious enemy, they gradually and unskilfully retired towards the Chersonesus of Thrace [the peninsula of the Dardanelles], and that narrow peninsula, the last extremity of the land, was marked by their third and irreparable defeat. By the destruction of their army Attila acquired the indisputable possession of the field. From the Hellespont to Thermopylæ and the suburbs of Constantinople, he ravaged without resistance and without mercy the provinces of Thrace and Macedonia; Heraclia\* and Constantinople might, perhaps, escape this dreadful irruption of the Huns, but words the most expressive of total extinction are applied to the calamities which they inflicted on seventy cities of the Eastern empire. Theodosius, his court, and the unwarlike people were protected by the *walls of Constantinople* [not the Anastasian wall]; but these walls had been shaken by a recent earthquake, and the fall of fifty-eight towers had opened a large and tremendous breach. The danger, indeed, was speedily repaired, but this accident was aggravated by a superstitious fear that heaven itself had delivered the imperial city to the shepherds of Scythia."

Nor is the position of the Chekmagees indicated in the historian's description of the encounter between

\* Situated at the modern Erakler, forty miles beyond Buyuk Chekmagee.

Belisarius and the Bulgarian horse, although, since it has been clearly pointed out by modern science, a note in Gibbon may, to a certain extent, be regarded as obscurely hinting at the locality; and, indeed, it is only lately that any one has thought of giving it even this character. Belisarius is said by the historian to have entrenched himself at Melanthius, about twenty miles from Constantinople, and there repulsed seven thousand Bulgarians, by whom he was attacked. As far as the description throws any light upon the subject, this might have occurred in front, just as well as in the rear of the lakes; and, in fact, with more probability, as he mentions ambuscades in the woods, and the woods are all in the front. He alludes, too, in the note, to a causeway and bridge built by Justinian over a morass, or gullet, between a lake and the sea; and a causeway and fragment of a bridge, which I mention hereafter, are still existing in a similar situation near Silivria, much in front of the position. The position, moreover, is almost twenty miles in length, and, consequently, its weaker points could never have been held by a body with a front of only three hundred veterans, while the four passes by which it is pierced require to be strongly occupied as long as they continue, as at present, unfortified.

It is open to great doubt, then, if this is the ground adverted to by Gibbon; and it is clear that it was never employed by the Turks, either in their earlier wars, or in the disastrous campaign of 1829.

A position, however, in the days antecedent to the

discovery of gunpowder, and the consequent development of the modern system of military engineering, was, in every respect, very different indeed from what that term now implies. If those whom it behoves were, in the present day, to look out for positions with only a classical volume in hand, they might pass over unnoticed ground as strong as Torres Vedras itself, and possibly ensconce our forces in situations, once reckoned impregnable, but where they would now stand the chance of suffering as much as they ever did during our most unsuccessful Indian campaigns.

Baron Valentini, who passes for a great authority, but whose description of this position and that of Gallipoli is inaccurate and confused, begins by terming the district on the European side of the Bosphorus, the "*Thracian* or Byzantine Peninsula;" and Constantinople is described as its "*réduit*,"—a term in fortification applied to a smaller but stronger work within one of greater extent,—whereas the city is, compared with the position of the Chekmagees, weak and untenable.

The portion of the Lesser Balkan between the Sea of Marmora and the Black Sea, to the west of Chekmagees, he designates as an *impassable* chain of mountains, although it is traversed by five or six roads fit for wheel-carriages, and which are still uninterrupted by fortifications. He describes the wall of Silivria, built by Anastasius, and repaired by Justinian, as now forming, behind the valley of Tousladere, the principal line of defence. But this fabric was upwards of thirty miles from Constantinople, as its huge foundations, all that

now remains of it, attest, while Buyuk Chekmagee is within twenty miles. This, I think, shows that Valentinini had a very indistinct conception of what were the true defences of the city, if, indeed, he had any idea of where they are to be looked for; and I believe, moreover, that he was the originator of the erroneous supposition that Attila was stopped in his course before he reached the wall \* of Constantinople. If Baron Valentinini was right in supposing, as he does, that Zabergan was beaten at the *Anastasian* wall by Belisarius, that event most certainly could not have occurred at the long lines of Buyuk and Kuchuk Chekmagee; and, therefore, he has not, any more than Gibbon, indicated specifically those remarkable positions.

As regards Gallipoli, although it is only a small, open, commercial town, containing a castle, now completely in ruins, Baron Valentinini calls it "a fortress and military port," a *réduit* to the Thracian Chersonesus, which he describes as a tongue of land, from one and a half to two miles wide, and ten miles in length. Here, again, whether he employs the German or English scale of measurement, he is altogether incorrect, for the peninsula of the Dardanelles is, at least, fifty English miles in length, measuring from the extremity, opposite Koomkaleh, at the entrance of the strait, to a point on the Sea of Marmora, in a line with the head of the Gulf of Saros; while its extreme breadth is twelve miles, and its least, at the proposed lines some miles

\* That is, the city walls; not the walls of Anastasius.

higher up the strait than Gallipoli, about two miles and a half. Neither does Baron Valentini say one word of the expediency of fortifying the isthmus by a line of works drawn across it, nor point out either the narrowest part of it, or the spot where the natural formation of the ground is most favourable for the purpose. On the contrary, his faulty and erroneous description of the peninsula and of the town of Gallipoli, as well as his allusion to the remaining portion of the ancient Anastasian wall, the *Macron tichas*, which he brings from the neighbourhood of Constantinople to that of Gallipoli, are only calculated to impress the reader who has had personal experience of these localities with the supposition that in writing his account he has trusted entirely to books or hearsay descriptions, and has never paid them a visit; while those who have not been on the spot can hardly fail to be misled by the narrative.

Few other military writers, in their schemes for the defence of Turkey, have until lately touched upon those positions, and even these few have rested little upon their strength. They were, however, like that of Gallipoli, distinctly pointed out in my memoranda at the time, and again in the representations which I made in 1853 [see Appendix, Nos. I., II., and III.], meeting latterly with attention on both points. At the beginning of the present year they were noticed by Col. Chesney, and about the same time visited by the French and English Engineer Commission.



## CHAPTER II.

AQUEDUCTS AND RESERVOIRS—CHATSALDA—PASSES—LANDING-PLACES—PROPOSED BATTERIES—THE BOSPHORUS—BUYUK-DEREH—BUYUK-LIMAN—KILIA—BELGRADE—LEVEND CHIFLIK—ROOMELI-HISSAR—THE ASIATIC COAST—LINE OF DEFENCE—BLOCKHOUSES.

HAVING thus traversed the shore road from Constantinople to the lakes, we shall now, in continuing the subject of the defences of the city on the land side, describe the inland road towards the Balkan, which passes through Chatsalda; but only as far as that place for the present, as it is my intention to revert to the seaward defences on the Euxine, before leaving the vicinity.

Quitting the city by the gate of Adrianople, and leaving on the right the river Sydaris, vulgarly called the Ali-bey, which flows through a ravine into the Golden Horn, not far from where it receives the Barbyzis (now called the Khéat-Khaneh-soo), the road passes between the two great barracks of Ramish Chiflik and Daoud Pasha, situated about two miles from the walls,\*

\* As to its ancient stone walls, they are so near the houses within them, that from any point whence they could be attacked with cannon, the city might be bombarded, and would very soon be reduced to ashes.





where the Turks, looking much too near the city for its strongest defences, formerly erected field-works, which, though fallen into decay, might, if repaired, serve as the scene of a last struggle with the enemy.

This neighbourhood is intersected by the subterranean conduits and lofty aqueducts which convey water from Kalfas, Kavaskioi, and other great reservoirs, to Constantinople; and though, when I visited them, they were quite undefended, the Chekmagee lines, if erected, would effectually protect these works. The vast importance of preserving them will be understood when it is recollected that Constantinople is situated on the extremity of a wedge of land ill supplied with springs, or running streams, and in a climate where, at certain seasons, there is but little rain for months. During the wet season, the rains are collected in the reservoirs from a thousand small channels, descending from the higher tracts, and the supply is liberally dealt out to the water-loving denizens of the city, who, from their habits of frequent ablution, and almost hourly indulgence in large draughts of water, would be rendered miserable by even a partial diminution of their favourite element; although, with their usual improvidence, they have suffered some of the other reservoirs situated within the city walls, and which formerly communicated with those without, receiving and storing their overflowings, to fall to ruin, when their preservation would probably have doubled the supply, and, in the event of attack, would have been of some utility even after an enemy had gained possession of the surrounding district.

Leaving the aqueducts behind, a country is now traversed resembling that on the parallel route already described, but in which the heights are bolder and the valleys more abrupt, while small towns and chifliks are of more frequent occurrence, and the supply of water near the road is, by means of copious artificial fountains and occasional rivers by which it is crossed, considerably more abundant. This highly-defensible tract extends as far as the Chekmagee lines, which may be said to run from the two lakes on the Sea of Marmora, nearly to the fort of Kara-bornoo on the Black Sea, where it has in its front the salt lake of Derkos, and the narrow ledge dividing it from the sea, which, no doubt, might be easily cut through, so as to admit the waters of the Euxine.

Our approach to the first of these lines, or that nearest Constantinople, is marked after passing a khan \* and fountain, by the summit of a bold position on the Constantinople side of a river flowing through a deep ravine towards the lesser lake, and hence a view is obtained of Kuchuk Chekmagee and the neighbouring sea. Descending into the ravine, the road, which is generally good, crosses the river by a substantial stone bridge, close to which is a fountain, and ascending the steep bank on the opposite side, passes a large walled chiflik where another position commences.

From this point we come on a succession of inferior slopes, dipping towards the lakes and marshes, each

\* Caravansera.

affording a position. One of these, about two miles from the Chatsalda marsh in its front, to which it extends, has in its course, a little to the west of the road, a small isolated height, well suited for a fort or telegraph, or rather for both. From this eminence there is an extensive view, embracing the second lake, with its town and isthmus, and several villages occur on both sides of the road. This locality is well calculated for the encampment of troops, being elevated above the marshes, and at the same time not distant from water.

Descending the heights, the road commences the passage of the marsh, by a narrow, ancient causeway, composed of square blocks of stone, often much displaced, and frequently intersected by the Karasoo and other streams, over which long stone slabs are placed, forming a species of bridge, removable at pleasure; thus adding to the other means available here for preventing the advance of an enemy.

A similar road leads also from Chatsalda towards Derkos, on the Black Sea, a distance of about ten miles, where the right of the lines described would rest near the Cape and fort of Kara-bornoo. Chatsalda is also about ten miles from the greater bridge, and fifteen or sixteen from the lesser, and unfortunately is in front of the lines, or it would have formed a good station for a dépôt, or might have been the headquarters of a force during the healthy season of the year.

By a perusal of these pages, and reference to the

map and sketch, it will be perceived that the country extending from the Sea of Marmora to the right of the Chatsalda road, is very well secured. Thence to the Black Sea the heights become still bolder, and the valleys deeper, till the road crosses the Lesser Balkan. The course of the river Karasoo lies through one of the ravines peculiar to the country, which look like abrupt cracks across the mountain ranges; and of this peculiar formation the Bosphorus itself affords the most striking example.

A third pass to the right leads through the lines by the village of Kastana-kioi, and a fourth crosses the heights of the Lesser Balkan transversely, by a road which leads from it along the shore to Midia, joining one from the mouth of the Bosphorus. The three last-mentioned roads, as well as the Chekmagees, could, if strengthened by defensive works, be included in a position comparable with any existing.

We have now successively noticed the positions which constitute the immediate defences of Constantinople on the land side, and as long as they are not forced, there seems to be no danger of a hostile army reaching the city from the interior; but it must not be forgotten that there are landing-places on the European side of the Bosphorus, within six miles of its mouth, in the bay near the village of Domusdereh, if not between that village and Kara-bornoo, where defences have yet to be erected for the effectual protection of the capital. This is, indeed, for the moment secured by the presence of the allied fleets, but the chances of war

may call them elsewhere, when the city would be exposed to the consequences of a possible landing of Russian troops, designed to act behind the forts and batteries on that side of the Bosphorus, which, like the Dardanelles, may be called a salt river, passing with a strong current from the Euxine towards the ocean. Nor in any event should it be allowed to remain in its present defenceless state, and the same remark may apply to the land defences of the Dardanelles.

It is true, the shore between Kara-bornoo and Domusdereh is dangerous, except to those familiar with the intricate navigation, such as the Greek fishermen of the district; and vessels missing the mouth of the strait, a common occurrence, are very often wrecked there. The Bosphorus itself was chiefly fortified by European engineers, and its various straits and currents are commanded, though imperfectly, by batteries which can throw balls from shore to shore, rendering it almost impossible for vessels to pass through without sustaining serious damage; and I remember an experienced naval Officer, now an Admiral actively employed, having pointed out to me a spot upon the European shore, on a height a little above Istenia, whence heavy and well-constructed batteries could, in his opinion, send a fleet dismasted down the current to the opposite shore, towards which it directly sets, and where other batteries from the point of Chiboukly to that of Kandili, would riddle their unmanageable hulls as they floated down the stream. The existing batteries at the base of the abrupt heights which enclose



the strait, were constructed before this branch of military engineering had attained its present state of perfection, when the art of taking advantage of the natural features of ground was not well understood, and when, indeed, the Ottoman Government had not much reason to expect very scientific attacks on this side of the capital by neighbouring powers. Some of the works were merely constructed to repel the assaults of the Cossacks, at that time an independent people, and other similar opponents more or less barbarous. Even the batteries most recently constructed are upon the same plan, and but little better in point of efficiency; while several places, where the existence of currents and shoals invited the erection of powerful batteries, are not turned to account; and the existing works, besides being ill-placed, are too small, and their fire does not cross.

The narrow tract of land through which the Bosphorus passes is intersected by a ridge, the termination of the range of the Lesser Balkan. The strait itself may be compared to a vast fissure in the country, cutting the ridge in two, and presenting on each side a rough section of its stratification. The whole length of the Bosphorus is about eighteen miles, and runs nearly from north-north-east to south-south-west, making several obtuse angles in its course, and forming shallow bays, where the influence of the different strong currents which pass through it is not felt. The neighbouring country bordering upon it may best be considered in several distinct portions; taking the Euro-

pean and Asiatic shores as much as possible in succession. The former, as the site of the capital, demands our first attention. Commencing at Buyukdereh, therefore, we shall, before proceeding elsewhere, take the country which lies between it and the bay in front of Domusdereh on the Black Sea, near Kilia, closing the series of defensive works near the Bosphorus on that side.

Buyukdereh is situated at the foot of a rich valley in an extensive bay, one of the angles formed by the Bosphorus, about six miles from its entrance. Its fine harbour is free from currents, and from the outer anchorage commands a view of the upper reach of the channel as far as the Black Sea, and in the opposite direction as far as the battery just below Ingier-kioi, and above Chiboukly. This situation, with other circumstances, renders it a place of great importance, and its defence ought to be especially looked to. Buyukdereh may at present be approached by land, from the Black Sea, by a march of five or six miles, there being no defensive works between it and the fort of Kilia, although, if a proper disposition of defences were made on the most commanding heights, the country is such as to admit of its being successfully disputed by a moderate force. There is also a road by Pyrgos, from the lakes, which is equally open. Even at Buyukdereh there are now only insignificant open batteries, situated upon the shore, and, like the rest, very accessible from the heights behind. About a mile above it, on the shore, is the fort called Delhi Tabia, consisting of a stone-fronted battery, mounting about thirty

guns à fleur d'eau, from the flanks of which thin stone walls run a short way up the hill on each side, enclosing the space behind the battery on three sides, the battery itself forming the fourth. Within this area are barracks and other buildings, the whole exposed to the hill immediately behind, which rises at a very steep angle, so that shells, rockets, and even hand-grenades, might be thrown from it, consuming the buildings, and driving the men from the guns. The hill is detached from the rest of the range, and might be fortified very advantageously. Delhi Tabia, like the other forts in the neighbourhood, has neither ditch nor glacis. Immediately behind, runs the road from Buyukderch to Roomeli-Kavac, the site of the next fort; and opposite Delhi Tabia, on the other side of the strait, in a direction due south, comes the fort of Yousha, mounting fifty-one guns. This is partly an old stone battery, with a continuation to the right in fascine-work, such as is used in making dams, and the whole is surrounded by a wall to the rear, enclosing large barracks.\*

All these contain long heavy brass guns, some of which, like those of the Dardanelles, are of very large calibre for carrying stone balls, and the rest, being generally mounted upon awkward low carriages, are incapable of much elevation or depression, and otherwise unmanageable.

\* The forts on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus are so like those elsewhere described, that further notice of them seems unnecessary.

Two deep valleys open behind Roomeli-Kavac, and a height beyond is crowned by the ruins of an old Greek or Genoese convent, a little in front of which the eye can sweep the battery below, discerning every gun within, and having almost equal command of the battery of Anatoli-Kavac on the opposite or Asiatic shore, though from the greater distance this would probably be only attainable with shells. The heights near the shore on the European side are higher and steeper than on the other, descending at Roomeli-Kavac in precipitous rocks, which extend, with little interruption, to the lighthouse at the mouth of the Bosphorus, and along this shore there is hardly any road or thoroughfare.

The next fort above Roomeli-Kavac is Buyuk-Liman, mounting about twenty-seven guns, and having in its front a good anchorage free from currents; but it stands rather too high above the water to do much execution in such a situation, and could be easily reached from behind. An interval of about a mile brings us to the fort of Karibgeh, mounting forty guns in two tiers, and which is more perfect than any of the others, while it has a better enclosure on the land side; although in that quarter it is, like the other defences, without guns. Another battery follows at the village of Fanaraki, adjacent to the European lighthouse, and which mounts nine guns, while a little beyond the lighthouse, on the other side of the creek, is an antiquated loopholed fort, wholly unprovided, at the time of my visit, with artillery. There is no other work between this spot and

Kilia, although there are several places fit for landing at the termination of the small valleys on the shore, where the beach is gravelly, and which are frequented by large fishing-vessels.

Kilia is a small square fort with bastions, but being without either ditch or glacis, the revetment is exposed from top to bottom. It is besides commanded from a height a little to the south where there is a windmill, and also by one in the direction of three high square towers, which form an aqueduct for conducting water to the fort. Immediately to the west is a bay running towards Domusderch, upwards of two miles in length, and affording good anchorage, the bottom being sandy, and sloping regularly from the beach, which vessels can approach within six hundred yards with perfect safety. The bay is sheltered from the south-south-east and west winds, and the north wind is not dangerous, while the quality of the bottom is said to be such that should a vessel ground, she would suffer but little. The fire from the fort of Kilia is not to be dreaded, as its battery, which might soon be silenced, is too distant to reach the western part of the bay.

To the north-west of Buyukderch runs a range of heights, covered in part by the forest of Belgrade. It is a continuation in this direction of the mountains of the Lesser Balkan, from which the heights in the neighbourhood generally branch out, forming numerous valleys. Those terminating on the Bosphorus are, in general, steep and rugged, but towards the Black Sea the descent is more gradual. The range is reached from

the Bosphorus, through one of the valleys immediately behind the village of Sari-Yari, east of Buyukdereh, by a steep and winding ascent. This elevated point is marked by a single high tree, where a fort would close the ravine, and, at the same time, be a key to the vicinity of Buyukdereh, which, as before intimated, is approached by several roads passing through the valley, some of which are practicable for wheel-carriages.\* In a north-easterly direction from this spot the heights extend to Fanaraki, forming the European enclosure of the Bosphorus, over the batteries already described. In a westerly direction they become very important, running at an angle with the other ridge, between the landing-place near Domusdereh and the reservoirs at Belgrade. A commanding point on the last-mentioned ridge is marked by an old square castle in its vicinity, called the Tower of Ovid, which the great poet is reputed to have occupied, during a part of his exile from Rome. The village of Belgrade and the reservoirs are about six miles from the shore, and twelve from Constantinople.

The reservoirs consist of large solid dams, formed of very massive blocks of stone, to arrest the water which, at certain periods, pours in very large quantities through the valleys, and this source supplies about half the water consumed in the capital. The limpid element is conveyed to Constantinople by a very elaborate and

Those who desire further information in reference to this ground, will find some memoranda on the subject in the Appendix.

perfect system of conduits and aqueducts, which, in the event of a hostile occupation, might be seized by an enemy, and the supply cut off; or a threat to blow up the aqueducts might be used to induce a surrender, even if a defending force were between the enemy and the capital. The occupation and defence of the surrounding heights would be, therefore, of the utmost importance under such circumstances; and there can be no doubt that great facility would be given to the accomplishment of that object by a judicious system of works, erected at the most suitable points, such as the commanding position above alluded to, more particularly if the defence of Constantinople were to fall into the hands of a weak and not thoroughly-disciplined force.

If the position in front of Belgrade were to be abandoned, the general slope of the country, in the direction of Constantinople, would be found favourable to an advancing enemy, but there are still several positions of secondary consequence in the way. The most important of these is situated at Levend Chiflik, where there were formerly large barracks: it has its right near the Bosphorus, and its left towards the branches of the river Barbysis, which, as well as the Sydaris, passes, as we have seen, through deep valleys; and if an attempt were to be made by an enemy to reach the city itself from this neighbourhood, without crossing the Golden Horn, the banks of these rivers would present to a defending force on that side very favourable ground for their operations, though not so to one on their right bank.

The last point where any defence could be made on the Pera side of the Golden Horn, in its present state, is the ground lying between the Sultan's fishing-kiosk below Kheat-khaneh, on the river Barbysis, a mile or two before it enters the harbour, and the village of Ortokioi on the Bosphorus. The distance across may be three or four miles as the crow flies, but as a line drawn between these two places would pass over the heights and deep ravines which descend upon the Golden Horn, the actual distance may be estimated at five or even six miles. The table-land here offers great facilities to the advance of an attacking force, from the moment that the position last described might be forced. Quite open and unwooded, the ground slopes gradually towards the city, until it dips into the Golden Horn, at an average distance of not more than 1400 yards from its summit to the city on the opposite side, presenting to artillery a great command over the very combustible wooden building.\* Shells, hot shot, and Congreve rockets, could be thrown from hence, and the vast city would in a very short time be reduced to ashes. The heights, indeed, rise immediately over the only large Naval Arsenal which Turkey possesses, and if set on fire, the very sparks would, with most winds, place the city in great jeopardy, while the Ordnance Arsenal at Topkhana would infallibly share the fate of the adjoining suburbs of Pera and Galata, with which it is in close connection. Near these localities no natural disposition

\* The base of these heights, forming the shore opposite Constantinople, is not more than 700 or 800 yards from it.



of ground could possibly be more favourable for the attacking force. Proceeding down the sloping table-lands, their flanks covered by ravines, and each tongue of land furnished with a good road leading to the southwest, the columns could pass on, even in the darkest night, as the locality has not so much as a show of defence, and the old walls of Galata would fall before a few rounds. The kernel of the line between Kheat-khaneh and Orto-kioi, however, lies nearly at an equal distance between those places, and a large well-laid-out fort, if erected at this spot, might arrest the advance of an enemy for a considerable time, and would also support the position of Levend Chiflik in its front, greatly tending to turn the scale in favour of the defending force, even though inferior in numbers to that attacking.

The forts on the Bosphorus below Istenia would soon share the fate of the heights in their rear. The first is Roumeli-Hissar, an old castle built by Mahomet the Second when he captured Constantinople, being the first spot of land which he occupied in Europe.

The Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus, in its present state, affords, towards the Black Sea, facilities for disembarkment equal to those on the European side. A bay, called Anchor Bay, about six hundred yards from the castle at the Asiatic lighthouse, and Riva Bay, at a distance of about three miles, offer several points available for the purpose; and while vessels near the shore covered the operation, without being exposed to the fire of any battery, the troops disembarked might ascend the watercourses which run down into the bays, and by

occupying the heights on this side of the Bosphorus, turn its defences.

To obviate such a risk, the Asiatic coast, from the castle at the lighthouse to the bay of Riva, should be protected, like the European side, by a redoubt on each of the two capes enclosing the bay; and an intrenched camp at the head of the watercourses would, by operating on his front and flank, check the advance of an enemy. Should the difficulty of making a descent so near Constantinople, and in a country deficient in supplies, appear too great, an enemy might possibly effect a landing in one of the bays near the river Sangarias, when a system similar to that recommended on the European side ought to be adopted. At some points, small well-placed forts and intrenched batteries, and central supporting positions at others, carefully selected and strengthened, from whence a disembarking enemy could be assailed and arrested in his march, are the means to be employed on both shores near the strait. The Asiatic side offers two excellent lines of defence on which to retire, the outermost extending from a lake in the rear of the Sangarias to the Gallas, which might easily be intrenched: the other, crossing the isthmus between Nise and Nicomedia, which is only about seventeen or eighteen miles in breadth,\* and being intersected by ravines, is very available for defence.

In case of the immediate vicinity of Constantinople

\* It has been suggested, that the defences of these towns should be restored to serve as centres for two intrenched camps.

being threatened on the Asiatic side, either by the advance of an enemy from the direction of Erzeroom, or in consequence of such a landing having been effected as I have supposed, the country presents an interior line of defence, commencing at the Bay of Chalcedon, without the suburbs of Scutari, and extending to Anatoli-Hissar, the first Asiatic castle above the capital. The suburb of Scutari is enveloped by a chain of heights descending from Mount Bourgarloo, and connected in an oblique line with an eminence near the castle, but beyond the valley in which it stands. Although, however, this elevated spot commands one of the narrowest parts of the strait, it ought not to be occupied, as it is itself commanded by a higher ridge; but about four hundred yards further on is a plateau, embracing a view as far as Therapia, which would cross its fire with the batteries on the European side; and here a fort, aided by another on Mount Bourgarloo, would enable the defenders to hold the enemy at bay, in a line extending from Chalcedon to the Giant's Mountain. All the positions, in fact, are very strong, being supported on both flanks by precipitous ravines, so that they might be held by a corps very inferior in number to that of the enemy, who would be obliged to occupy a very extensive line, while the defending force could confine itself to one comparatively very limited.

The advance of an enemy, even to the water's edge, would not, on this side, be at once so decisive as on the other, from the obstacle presented by the Bosphorus. Still the loss of the Asiatic forts, and the destruction

of the villages and dwellings extending for nearly ten miles up the strait, which must be the consequence of such an advance, would be a very heavy calamity, tending much to the ultimate success of an enemy.

Even should nothing more effective be done, works on the heights behind are imperatively required for the defence of both shores, for which the only provision yet made is some small wooden blockhouses, erected in 1853, behind the fort of Yousha, with six or seven similar constructions at other points, of which one was in rear of Roomeli-Kavac, on the European side. That at Yousha appeared to me to be commanded behind by the Giant's Mountain, and all these blockhouses seemed mean and combustible defences. They are, however, provided with a small ditch and glacis, and their roofs are covered with earth to deaden the effect of shells and other projectiles.

Having thus described the scheme for improving the defences of the two great military positions of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, which there is now every prospect of our seeing energetically carried out, and which will enable a moderate force to hold those two keys of the Black Sea and the Mediterranean for any period, I must not omit to observe, that so far from the suggestion of such fortifications being intended to imply that a defensive and inactive plan of campaign is the best, I am quite of an opposite opinion. But by rendering the positions of Constantinople and Gallipoli impregnable, even in the hands of a force not highly disciplined, the mass of the armies would be available for

acting at a distance ; and having a secure basis to the rear, could (as well as the fleets) leave these most important localities behind them, without any feeling of apprehension. Moreover, even in a time of profound peace, it is of the utmost importance that these defences should be completed, so that fresh aggression may not be provoked, by a knowledge of the feeble and vulnerable condition of the very seat of government of the Ottoman empire, situated as it is in a locality, which, quite independent of its being around the capital, has the greatest political and strategical interest to every nation in Europe.

## CHAPTER III.

SILIVRIA—KARRISTAN—BULGARIAN PEASANTS—KUSELI AND APSA  
 —ADRIANOPLE—ROUTE TO SHUMLA—YAMBOLJ—CARNABAT—  
 SITE FOR ENCAMPMENT—FORD OF THE KAMCHIK—ADVANCE  
 POST—SHUMLA.

I SHALL now resume the route towards Shumla from Buyuk Chekmagee, by Adrianople and Carnabat, and afterwards describe those from Chatsalda to Varna, by Faki and the Pass of Eminch, and the central route through the mountains by Aïdos and Nadir Dervend to Pravadi.

At Coomboorgos, a Greek fishing-village, four miles from Buyuk Chekmagee, and near the shore, the eye discerns to the right some extensive ruins, with several large towers in the solid Greek style.\* This place is nearly opposite to the western end of the lake of Derkos, and this may be the ruins of Melanthius, alluded to by Gibbon, as there are no ruins of a similar character between it and Constantinople, and a structure of such importance can hardly have wholly disappeared. The village is now very poor, but we saw some good boats in the harbour. From Coomboorgos

\* Made of large blocks of stone without mortar.

to Bevadios, a distance of three miles, the country generally is a fine grassy down, undulating and smooth, with here and there traces of vine cultivation. Bevadios, is the ancient Epibaton, where a Greek fortress formerly stood, built by a rival of Cantakuzene, on the sea-shore.

Advancing from Bevadios towards Silivria, for three or four miles, the country becomes flatter, and, indeed, forms a plain, with the heights trending off to the right towards Yenikioi, Serai, &c.

After traversing a swampy flat, crossed by an old causeway, still in good order, we passed a brook running from a small lake above, by a wretched wooden bridge, and observed in the bed of the stream an arch, formed of large antique blocks, cemented together with mortar, which had probably been thrown down by an earthquake. This, were it not for some confusion as to distance, might be regarded as the bridge which Gibbon mentions as having been constructed, together with a causeway, by Justinian, and to which allusion is made in a former chapter. Silivria, the next town, is approached from the neighbouring heights, and is hardly seen till they are descended. It lies at their base, under a cliff, and is commanded by an old Romaic castle,\* with towers like the Genoese castles on the Bosphorus, but in a dilapidated condition. The town is on the Constantinople side of the bay, which affords anchorage for large sloops. A fine but thinly-peopled

\* By Romaic architecture, I mean of the period of the Lower Empire.

and badly-cultivated country, low, but not flat, extends beyond; and, during a ride of five and a half hours, we only passed a single chiflik and hamlet, composed of a few poor houses, chiefly inhabited by Greeks, near an old and low viaduct, crossing a brooky flat. Three and a half hours more, over ground of a similar character, were occupied in reaching Chorloo, a town of about a thousand houses. This place was occupied in 1829 by the Russians, who advanced as far as the bridge, their right halting near Rodosto, while their left was probably at Viza or Midia, though they had advanced posts much nearer the capital, at Yenikioi, and even Chatsalda.

Hence we proceed to Karristan, a journey of six hours, and find a town of about three hundred houses, boasting very perfect remains of an ancient castle. The country varies but little the whole way, consisting chiefly of extensive plains here and there, more or less marshy, and rather more uneven, with deep narrow brooks intervening, which would be some obstacle to artillery. The streppet, or small bustard, is met with here, often in large flights. The ground then becomes eminently calculated for the movements of cavalry; though the Turks, during their last war, do not appear to have turned it to account. Luleh Burgas is the resting-place for this night.

During the day we must have passed nearly a thousand Bulgarian peasants, returning from the neighbourhood of Constantinople. The country, where we saw them, is flat, and has numerous tumuli, precisely



resembling those in the south of Russia; and the Bulgarians, in appearance, language, and even dress, are very similar to the Russians of the south. Those we encountered perform yearly two marches, of from two to three hundred miles, carrying their knapsacks and scythes on their shoulders, and are fed badly, and sleep in the open air. Many of them seemed mere lads, and some, although stout fellows for their age, appeared hardly able to go on from lameness, but still kept their places in the file. Being Christians, they are not available to the Porte as troops, although very fine material.

Passing the Burgas, a river of some size, the road ascends a height, the first of a series of undulations which continue through a barren country, then covered with long dry grass,\* to Baba-Eskessi, four hours distant.

Baba-Eskessi is a town of five or six hundred houses, with two mosques and a church. A great proportion of the inhabitants are Greeks. There is a large tumultus near the town, which seemed never to have been opened. The next town, at about two hours' distance, is Kuseli, a small place of one hundred and fifty or two hundred houses. In the neighbourhood are several heights divided by brooks, and one, a few miles in front, has a brook before it, and another in its rear. The left flank is marshy. This is a spot where troops might retard the advance of an enemy. At three o'clock we reached Apsa, a better town than Kuseli,

\* In the early summer the grass is fine and plentiful.

though it has but few more houses ; and here we passed the night.

From this point, it is about three hours to Adrianople, the road still leading over a sandy country covered with dry grass. About midway there is a khan, with a handsome fountain pouring forth two copious jets of very fine water, derived, by channels, from some source at a distance. Soon afterwards the aspect of the country alters, the road descending to the valley of the Maritza, or Hebrus, when the land becomes woody, and is covered with vines.

In the background appears Adrianople with its domes and minarets. The great mosque of Selim possesses four very rich and elegant examples of those slender towers, which rise to a great height, and are ascended by nearly four hundred steps, leading to several balconies, or galleries, which occur in succession during the ascent.

Adrianople is a town of about a hundred thousand inhabitants, and is not a place of strength, being merely surrounded with ancient walls, flanked with towers, resembling those of Constantinople. Like that city it is divided into quarters, and has a population of Mussulmans and Christians nearly equal in numbers. It has been suggested that, by forming an entrenched camp, embracing the confluence of the rivers which occurs at this spot, a force of forty thousand men could here arrest the progress of one double that number, advancing from the Balkan. The style of fortification adopted at Lintz, in the Austrian territory, is recom-

mended as the most eligible, namely,—the construction of a series of large towers, about twenty in number, so planned as to allow free egress to their occupants. This, however, is a kind of fortification, which, from its solidity, requires time to execute, and is accompanied with heavy expense.

The Turks made no resistance at Adrianople in the last war; but the Russians, during the period they remained there, suffered a loss of probably as many men as their opponents could have occasioned them during the most brilliant defence. Their sickness has been attributed to malaria; which was most probably the case, as they encamped on low ground near the river, instead of on the heights which command the town; and their occupation was during the unhealthy months of August and September, when the inhabitants are very subject to fever and dysentery.

The road through Sofia to Belgrade crosses the Maritza; but the chief route to Shumla, our present destination, keeps at some distance from its left bank, and at the distance of twenty miles passes through the village of Buyuk Dervent and its defile, when we enter a more hilly country, covered with a low oak copsewood. The road is now good and dry, though somewhat stony, and passes a counterfort of the Little Balkans, at a village of about a hundred and fifty small houses, called Kuchuk Dervent. The country continues to present the same features as far as Papaskioi, a better village of the same size, but on a larger stream, and at a distance of about three hours from the

last. From hence the land is more open and flatter, and is intersected by frequent streams. There are, indeed, some hills on both sides, but they are distant; and to the left is the river Toonja, which joins\* the Maritza at Adrianople, and at this time was much swollen, presenting a serious obstacle. In little more than an hour from this spot we came in sight of the Great Balkan bearing nearly north, and not appearing very high. The approach is through lower and more marshy land, which becomes still more so after passing a good chiflik and several houses to the right. The descent from the higher ground was met by the flooded river, which makes several turns, and at one was a dam and mill, the former hardly perceptible from the inundation. The road to Yamboli, a distance of one or two hours, was execrable, and full of large loose stones, with much mud and water. The ground was higher to the right.

Yamboli\* is a good Turkish town, and contains fourteen mosques, and six hundred Turkish and four hundred Raya houses.

Turning north-east, we now proceed over a very good road, towards Carnabat, through an undulating grassy country, and with the Balkan to our left, while other hills rise on the right, and in our front, at a distance of several hours. At first our left was

\* A more direct but more mountainous road, to Carnabat, leaves Yamboli some hours to the left, and crosses the Lesser Balkan transversely, instead of at a right angle, like that described here.

flanked by a river, then by a very extensive marsh, whence the stream flowed, and which was covered with immense quantities of wild-fowl. Swarms of bustards appeared on the plain close to us. In about three hours we reach a village; and here, leaving the marshy land to our left, we proceed over a smooth undulating country, well fitted for cavalry. The marsh quite disappears about one hour before reaching Carnabat; and the road, turning somewhat to the left, ascends some elevated plateaus. Here we commence the ascent of the lower mountains; but the rise in the road is trifling, and is succeeded by some tableland of considerable extent, bounded on the left by the high Balkan. After an hour's ride a village is passed to the left, and a cemetery to the right of the road; and another hour brings the traveller to Carnabat, a town completely Turkish, both as regards its detestably dirty and stony streets, and the idle, coffee-shop habits of its population.

The route from Carnabat is directly north, over a marshy plain, extending towards a pass which seems to enter a low range, while other mountains near Kazan are about twenty-five miles to the left. The plain is stated to be dry in summer; but a raised causeway of a mile or two in length, shows it is sometimes under water. It occupies about an hour to climb the ascent to the first summit of the heights, which is flat and woody; and the dwarf oaks there were still in leaf. About half an hour beyond is the small town of Samenlar, containing about a hundred houses; and on

the height looking down from thence, in the direction of Shumla, is some pretty defensible ground; but its left is low, sloping down to a marshy tract. About twenty-five miles to the left is the Kazan Pass.

Clearing another village, at a distance of half an hour, still surrounded by a fine country, with good soil, growing corn and dwarf oaks, the road, which is cut on the side of the hill, has a deep glen on its right; and here it might, for an hour or two, be made impassable for artillery, by blowing up a portion of the rock. From this place the ground slopes from Dobral (five hours from Carnabat), through a fine woody space, suitable for riflemen. Two miles beyond the country opens, and presents a good plain slightly elevated, and very fit for encampment,—wood, water, forage, and grain being abundant, while the climate is cool and salubrious. On the 22nd November but little snow had appeared, lying here and there, partially melted by recent rains. Dobral is a good Bulgarian village, with but few Mussulman houses. The ground now ascends, and we pass on by a very fair carriage road, which had been rendered practicable for wheels by the Russians, and which, turning a little to the left, crosses a ridge, the highest part of the pass. For about an hour it then descends a little, and goes through a narrow gorge, having in its front an excellent position, with a counter-fort immediately before it, and several lower steps connected with it by a narrow neck, and flanked somewhat in rear by two other detached eminences, which are higher than it, giving the com-

mand, as it were, of bastions over a ravelin. Beyond this is the river Deli Kamchick, a branch of the greater Kamchick—a fine stream, with abrupt banks, which runs round the advanced height, and the others in its vicinity. The road winds on, descending round the front of the heights, from left to right, and crosses by a ford which reached our horses' girths; but it is, no doubt, like all mountain rivers, liable to great variations in depth. Leaving the ford, we proceed up a mountainous valley, having at first a stream on our left, which joins the Kamchick near the ford; and which, as well as several others, we cross, meeting on both sides steep rocky heights covered with wood. About two miles further on is a fountain, near a crest which descends abruptly to a brook; and thence we climb a steep rocky height, which might easily be made impassable for wheels, by breaking up the road, and making some redoubts or batteries to bear on the spot. This would then be an excellent advance post, to give time to any troops at Dobral to come up to the first-described position. On a summit beyond are the remains of a battery, intended to sweep a piece of flat ground to the left of the road. But in Turkey such works are generally ill placed; and in this instance the road is altogether *defiladed* from the battery by irregularities in the ground; while the battery is itself commanded by woody heights on both sides. A short distance beyond, the country opens, and shows a good convex-shaped small position, formed like an oyster-shell, with a brook running at its base, which

is crossed close to a fountain. The intervening ground affords wood, water, &c.

Ascending the opposite heights, the road enters Chiali Kavak, a straggling village of two or three hundred houses, chiefly poor wicker constructions, plastered roughly without. A good many Turks reside here, and probably form about half the population. Above the village are woody heights, where the road was now a good deal flooded, with ice and snow in patches. The wood, which abounded, was chiefly the small oak, but there were many large trees in sheltered places; and it may be well to remark that there seemed to be abundance of wood-game.

The descent is in front of the battery, by a causeway, said to have been made by the Russians, and extending for more than a mile. Some flooded brooks then presented themselves, when the road took a peculiarly steep turn over the rocky spur of the height. Another ascent fairly reaches the last ridge of the Balkan in this pass, and commands a good view of the plain around Shumla, flanked by its singularly-shaped and low, but fine table mountain, and its intrenched camp, with the town lying at the right of its base, but mostly concealed by the projecting flank of the height. The descent is between conical hills, terminating in a fine country, very soon showing hedges, vines, &c. Several easy ridges, of fine form, to the right, mark a position of tolerable strength. The road enters Dragoi-kioi, a good Bulgarian village, abounding in cattle, sheep, &c.;



and then keeping behind some ridges, which had till now formed the boundary of a shallow valley, traverses a low table-land, several miles square, and covered with rich grass as smooth as a bowling-green,—a fine locality for the movements of cavalry. There is a similar tract a little nearer the river. To the left of the road, further on, is an old low intrenchment, of a quarter of a mile in diameter, which commands a lower fall in the country between it and the river, a second branch of the Kamchick joining it a little above the Kinpri-kioi passage. It meets the road near some elevations, having the appearance of old intrenchments, but which are said to be natural, and is crossed by a good ford only reaching the saddle-girths, although now a good deal swollen. Several arabas drawn by buffaloes passed over at the same time.

The Shumla heights are approached by a good road, fit for carriages, as far as a gipsy village of about a hundred houses, when a very great change for the worse takes place in the road, and the stronghold itself is only accessible through a slough of loose stones embedded in soft mud. The vicinity of a Turkish town, indeed, is always marked by the increasing badness of the thoroughfares. Passing a new bastioned redoubt to our left, with revetments in masonry, not then finished, we entered the double enclosure of Shumla, formed of earth, and partially stockaded. It is not high, and a large barrack appears over it. A gateway admitted us first into a cemetery, and then to

a very foul and wretchedly-paved street—even worse than any previous experience had led me to expect in such a place,

I shall defer further observations on Shumla and its neighbourhood for the present, and describe the other route from the lakes towards the Balkan by Visa, Kirk-lissa, and Faki, through the passes of Cape Eminch and Nadir Dervend.

## CHAPTER IV.

ANASTASIAN WALL—ENCAMPING GROUND—VISA—BOONAR-HISSAR  
—KIRKLISSA—ROAD TO FAKI—FAKI—MARSHY GROUND—GULF  
OF BURGAS—OCCUPATION OF SIZEBOLI—LINE OF COAST—  
ROADS—BAY OF VAENA.

THE route towards the Balkan, carried in Chapter II. as far as Chatsalda, may now be followed out.

The causeway hitherto followed traverses a flat country for some distance, intersected with brooks, crossed by slight wooden bridges much out of repair, although ruinous abutments remain as relics of more massive structures, while they testify to their ancient importance. To the left rises a steep but not high range; and soon afterwards, to the right, some conical heights, with flattened tops, present themselves, near a village. The country then assumes the appearance of an elevated grassy plain for several hours' journey, when a khan is reached, situated about forty miles from Constantinople.

Near this place are the ruined foundations of the Anastasian wall, where very large blocks of calcareous stone, cemented with mortar, lie chiefly below the surface, having been excavated, in many places, for the purpose of being burnt into lime; and to effect

this object kilns have been erected in the vicinity. The left is now flanked by a woody embarrassed country; and, on the opposite hand, a distant chain of low mountains rather approaches the road, showing a break as of a plain between them, indicating the course of the river, which empties itself into the lake left behind. Bushy oak-woods and sandy heights continue for a couple of hours, when the traveller arrives at another small khan, of a quadrangular form. At a little distance further on, the country slopes down to the south-west, from a point affording a fine view, to the extent probably of twenty miles. In the direction of Yenikioi (west) is an extensive and finely-sloped position, crowned by a plateau, and running down to a brook, which, at its foot, passes through a ravine of moderate breadth, taking a south-westerly course. A branch of the ravine, also traversed by a brook, curves round, and envelops the left of the position; but here the slope is gradual until nearly in rear of the heights. The right terminates at an extensive copsewood, with which it is partially interspersed; and this, too, is protected by the brook, which also takes a bend round in that direction. The spot appears to afford good encamping ground, and the country beyond to the right is hilly and difficult.

On crossing the brook, grassy downs are passed, and we enter the poor Bulgarian village of Yenikioi. The road, ascending through low copse, soon reaches a crest overlooking a fine open plain, suitable for manœuvring a large force. A sloping ascent for about an

hour brings us to the town of Sarai, where the Russians, during their advance in the last war, erected some fieldworks facing towards Constantinople, and greatly injured the town by their occupation.

About two hours beyond is Chakoli, a village of about two hundred houses; and leaving two other villages to the right, a further ride of the same duration, over fine grassy ways, brings us to the ancient town of Visa, situated on a height overlooking a vast plain, bounded to the west by low regular eminences, and to the north and east by more elevated ground, terminating the fine range of mountains towards Midia and Iniada, on the coast of the Black Sea. Roads practicable for wheels cross the Lesser Balkan, from both Sarai and Visa, to Midia, which is distant about eight hours' journey from each place.

Visa, the ancient Byzantine city of Byzia, still retains many vestiges of its former grandeur in the shape of marble blocks and columns, and these are frequently met with, particularly in the old citadel, which rises above the town on a separate eminence, and even now possesses ruined towers and walls. The town contains eight or nine hundred houses.

Leaving Visa, we enter a noble plain, bounded by sloping and wooded heights. A road passes, at some distance to the left, to Kirkliissa, without going through Visa. After a slight ascent, the track is crossed in the direction of the Black Sea, by a way practicable for wheels, leading to Midia and other places. At the distance of about three hours from Visa, we pass to the

right a handsome chiflik, and a cemetery, distinguished by a tower-shaped building with a dome roof, said to be a remnant of an ancient Greek church, dedicated to St. Nicholas, but now the burying-place of a wealthy Turkish proprietor. From hence there is a gradual descent on the Visa side, and the road crosses several brooks, flowing from the low mountain range to the front and right, while the left opens fine cultivated plains. Another hour is required for the journey to Boonar-hissar, where an old castle, standing on a height above the plain, still shows some ruinous walls and towers. After reaching the village of Ienai, about three miles further on, passing through woods of fine scattered oaks, somewhat resembling an English chase or forest, we reach the banks of a small river, with a favourable position for encampment on its right bank, looking towards Kirkliissa. The last part of the road now crosses a rich and well-cultivated plain, and is quite fit for carriages until it reaches Kirkliissa, a finely-situated town, about forty miles east from Visa, and rather less from Adrianople.

We had passed to our right a track striking off towards the Euxine side of the mountain range, and at Kirkliissa we were at the junction of the road from Adrianople, and the direct road from Luleh Burgas to Aïdos and the Balkan.

A long defensive line between Kirkliissa and Adrianople has been repeatedly pointed out as a favourable position, for arresting the advance of an army from the Balkan; but it is admitted, even by

those who recommend it, that much artificial preparation in the shape of such works as exist at Lintz, in the Austrian territory, would be required to render it available; and when its great extent is fairly considered, it must be apparent that such an undertaking would be a very serious one, and would require considerable time for its execution.

Kirkliissa, or the Forty Churches, is very prettily situated on the south-western slope of a height, a spur of the Lesser Balkan, rising at the commencement of a fine tract of country which extends towards Adrianople in a westerly and Luleh Burgas in a southerly direction. It is the first really good country which the traveller reaches when pursuing this route from the Great Balkans. Vineyards, enclosed with hedges, are everywhere to be seen, as well as other indications of a fruitful soil and careful cultivation, and the roads are comparatively good. I look upon Kirkliissa as one of the best permanent stations for a military force, both on account of its strategical importance, and from its healthy situation, while it insures an abundance of supplies. It is distant from Iniada and Midia, on the Black Sea, about fifty miles, but the routes in that direction are not good. Luleh Burgas is about twenty-five miles distant, over the more level country which prevails on that side.

In Kirkliissa are nine mosques; the largest, called the Buyuk Djami, is a pretty building, having its walls mantled with ivy. Though nearly in the centre of the town, and in the vicinity of one of the two large baths,

it stands in the midst of a cemetery, a very unusual thing in Turkey. The chertzezs, or covered bazaars, contain many good shops. Kirkliissa has the reputation of entertaining Russian predilections, probably for substantial reasons; a fact of which I thought I could trace some indications.

At Kirkliissa we change our course (which has been from Constantinople nearly north-west), and, taking an almost northerly direction, enter a more rugged country, presenting on both sides mountain ranges of moderate elevation. The country, for the first four hours (twelve to fourteen miles), is not very difficult, as far as regards the road; but rocks rise around in detached blocks, like huge walls, which give the locality another character. At this distance we reach Erakler, a village of about one hundred houses, and possessing a mosque. It suffered considerably by fire when occupied by the Russian troops in 1829.

The road from hence towards Faki keeps along a ridge of quartzite granite; but though often ascending and descending, it is nowhere difficult, and is practicable, even in its present state, for carriages, though it would be greatly improved by a little timely repair, which, with so much weather-worn and friable stone ready at hand, might be very easily done. Few habitations are visible from the road, but the country is not destitute of cultivation; and in similar localities, even in Italy, it is usual for the peasants to come from distant villages to sow and reap their crops, quitting the place when their task is completed. Continuing along the



crest, we pass through a high and woody country, quite forest scene, the trees generally fine, but interspersed with the dwarf or Valonia oak, producing the gall-nut, and so come to Faki.\*

This town is chiefly important from its situation at the junction of several roads, one of which proceeds by the pass of Buyuk Derwend to Adrianople, while another leads to Agteboli, on the Black Sea; another by Tirnowo to Iniada; a fourth through the mountains to Carnabat; and a fifth forms the continuation of the road we have been pursuing, branching into two at Karapoonar, twelve miles to the north-east, where one leads by Aïdos across the Balkan, and the other, very soon descending from the lesser range, proceeds to Burgas, on the Black Sea. From Faki we ascend by this route the high ridgy country last described, traversing a fine forest of large oaks; and then, on leaving Karapoonar, descend towards the Euxine, for the purpose of following the shore road to Varna by Cape Emineh, when a great change occurs in the character of the ground. Soon, indeed, the country becomes low and marshy, and the road, which is deep and rough, is conducted through the most swampy tract, as if its constructors had purposely avoided the drier slopes in the vicinity; and, in fact, it often so nearly resembles a narrow canal, that it suggests the facility of defending the neighbourhood which it traverses on the principle of Cohorn—at least when viewed, as it was by myself, in the month of November.

\* Often called Omoor-Faki.

The same sort of country, with a wretched soil, continues on this side nearly to Burgas, a distance of twenty miles from Karapoonar, when the road skirts to the right a large salt lake, divided from the bay by a gravelly ledge, along which runs one of those rude, oriental aqueducts, marked by their brick columns, which conveys fresh water to the town.

Proceeding along the bay, a slight ascent leads to Burgas, which is nearly surrounded by its waters, and by two large salt lakes (Mangris and Alakos) extending into the country in the direction of Aïdos; and which combine, with other local advantages, to render this important harbour one of the strongest natural positions on this coast.

The bay, or rather gulf of Burgas, is about twenty miles in extent, looking to the north-east, with a fine country in its immediate neighbourhood, and has a general depth of about twelve fathoms.

Good anchorage exists near the town, as well as to the south-east, at St. Nicholas; and there is an excellent harbour at Sizeboli, a little more to the south, enclosed by a headland and an island, which completely shelter it. Sizeboli is situated on the small cape just mentioned; and, though without defences itself, both the town and its harbour are commanded by a height, on which a redoubt was erected by the Russians last war, when they seized this port, and used it as a place of disembarkation for the troops, which marched into the interior, and reinforced the army of Diebitsch, after it had crossed the Balkan.

The occupation of the bay of Burgas, and the presence of the allied fleets in the Black Sea, now preclude the possibility of such a use being made of Sizeboli by the enemy, while this large bay, abounding with harbours, affords to ourselves the means of throwing in reinforcements and supplies in rear of the Balkan, as Varna does in its front. The Russians, indeed, occupied Sizeboli without interruption from the Turks, first in small numbers, and then in force, before their columns crossed the Balkan; for they were well aware of the great importance of first having the sea open to them on their flank. Of so much consequence, in fact, is this, that it seems very doubtful whether they could advance to any distance from the Danube, now that this advantage is wrested from them. Varna and Burgas, viewed in connexion with their harbours, are the abutments, as it were, on which rest the two defending lines, one in front, and the other formed by the fortified passes within the range of the Balkan.

The great bay of Burgas is very capable of defence. Its northern shore throws out two small peninsulas, on which stand the towns of Ankhiaroo and Messembria, both possessing good harbours, and capable of being rendered extremely strong. It is an eligible position for the great naval arsenal of the Turkish empire, and has been pronounced by nautical officers, who have visited both, as being far superior, except in strength, to the opposite harbour of Sebastopol.

From Sizeboli a road runs along the shore to Constantinople, passing through Iniada and Midia, into

the defensive position of the Chekmagees, near Karabornoo, and the salt lake of Derkos. The coast, as far as Iniada, and even beyond it, is mountainous, woody, and difficult, affording many favourable positions; but, notwithstanding the obstacles it presents, a Russian column proceeded along it unopposed in 1829.

Near Midia, twenty miles further south, the mountains recede, and the coast from hence southwards assumes a low and bleak appearance, bounded by red sandy cliffs, and skirted by sandbanks, within which mariners well acquainted with the locality can anchor, but there are no buoys or bearings of any kind for the direction of vessels. Iniada affords a good harbour, with deep anchorage. The coast, however, is so ill-defined by landmarks that, on one occasion, when going in a Russian packet-steamer from Odessa to Constantinople, which was commanded by an English captain, we ran along this shore for a distance of more than thirty miles, supposing we were to the east, instead of the west, of the Bosphorus; and the error was not discovered till we were in sight of Iniada, which is marked by a clump of trees, having been only six or seven miles from the Bosphorus when we committed our mistake, so that, including our return, we went sixty miles out of our course. The number of wrecks we passed seemed to attest that mistakes of this description are very frequent.

Proceeding from Burgas towards the Pass of Cape Emineh, we keep in a northerly direction for some

miles, to the right of the third salt lake, called Alakos, which has the road to Aïdos on its left.

Immediately over the town of Burgas is a sloping height traversed by these roads, and which, from its command over the harbour, and its natural glacis, affords an excellent position for a fortress. The vicinity is a grassy down, of moderate extent, reaching to the salt lakes, which seem to the eye higher than the sea, and are some miles in length. On leaving the ledge which divides these lakes from the sea, the road turns east in the direction of Ankhialoo, over a flat but dry country, abounding in vineyards and grass lands; but on reaching the fourth lake in this neighbourhood, which is smaller than the others, the direct road to Cape Emineh keeps to its left, while the way to Ankhialoo strikes off over another sandy isthmus to the right. Ankhialoo, which possesses a good harbour and considerable commerce, would, like Burgas, be a strong position, if fortified.

For a mile or two the Varna road runs along the shore of the last-mentioned salt lake, and at that distance from the town reaches a large chiflik, enclosed by a wall, with four ruinous towers at its angles. It is called Cheemos, and belongs to a certain Sereeb Bey. For the next four or five miles we pass only a few timber-yards, when the road arrives at the sea-shore, at a bay usually strewn with wrecks, while the lower counterforts of the Balkan rise at some distance to the left. The country from Ankhialoo is low and sandy, but well clothed with vines.

Messembria, also on a small peninsula, as has already been observed, and in situation very similar in every respect to Ankhialoo, is more ruinous, and has a poorer population. Its isthmus is low and narrow, and had some field-works erected upon it at the period of the last Russian war. The route from hence continues close to the water, along the hard sands of a deep but moderate-sized bay, and then ascends into a higher country, interspersed with sandy hillocks, producing very good wine, for which the chief market is Odessa. Leaving the bay, we commence the ascent of Cape Eminch, terminating after some miles in a summit, whence an extensive bird's-eye view is obtained of the gulf of Burgas and its nearest towns, and in the opposite direction the eye can penetrate as far as Varna.

This mountainous coast is highly picturesque; but, as some drawback to its attractions, is said to be frequented in the summer season by plunderers from the higher ridges. It abounds with roe-deer and other game.

Descending from the headland, a village, Esekli appears to the right, where, as the ground possesses a good command over the road in its front, field-works might stop the advance of an enemy. The heights are partially wooded, and at their base, towards the north, runs the Koozak-soo, a good river, which reached to our horses' girths. Two broken wooden bridges appeared to the right and left. A marsh extends from the river towards the beach, which is traversed by

several running streams, but near the shore is sandy and firm enough for wheel-carriages. Then an ascent of about an hour, through woody glades of oak, carries the route past several villages, and continues through much the same country, till the wood disappears, when it enters upon an elevated tract of fine but uncultivated downs, reaching, in about a mile, the summits of Capes Mavro and Aspro (the black and white capes) at their junction, when a fine view is obtained of Cape Eminch to the south, the last step of the Balkan, where it dips into the sea. This seems good and healthy encamping-ground for the summer season. The distance from Burgas is about forty-five miles, and the neighbourhood is sprinkled with Bulgarian villages; while Aspro, a good Greek village of about one hundred and fifty houses, lies in an upland valley to the right in view of the sea.

After a descent, where we pass some windmills, the country becomes undulating and woody for several miles, when a brook in a meadow is crossed a little below the small Turkish village of Fundookli. The road then traverses a projecting bend in the coast, striking through woods, which in that direction terminate at a depôt for timber, and a building dock, not far from the sea, called the Terzanah. The timber in the neighbourhood is very fine for ship-building.

Some heights rise at about a mile's distance with considerable command, succeeded by a ledge or isthmus, presenting four or five miles of sand on the right, reaching to the sea, while the left consists of a woody

jungle. Approaching the river Kamchick, near its mouth, the timbers of a destroyed bridge, and the remains of some field-works, are seen close to the sea. The channel of the river, bordered by heavy breakers, may also be distinctly traced, after it enters the sea. The distance from this spot to Varna is about sixteen or seventeen miles. The track, as far as the river, is sandy, though marks of wheels are seen, showing it is practicable for carriages. The waters of the Kamchick being at the moment very high, and no bridge in existence, we proceed to a ferry about a hundred yards from its junction with the sea, and cross in a small miserable boat, with the horses swimming behind. Then we ride over a low marshy country to some heights on the Varna side, affording an extensive view of the sea, and pass a village or two (Petroskioi, Aita, &c.), along a good but sandy road fit for carriages, but requiring a few repairs, which might be easily executed. The country continues elevated and open for about six miles, passing a point towards the sea near a fountain, well suited for a look-out station, as it possesses an excellent view of the country all round Varna. A descent from hence of about three miles, through a woody country, brings us to a ledge, under a mile in length, and about half that in breadth, which separates the lake of Dewna from the bay of Varna.



## CHAPTER V.

PASSES OF THE BALKANS—TERNOVA—SHUMLA—FORTIFICATIONS  
OF SHUMLA—CITADEL—INTRENCHED CAMP.

THE pass of Nadir Dervend, which is situated between those of Chiali-kavak and Cape Eminch, was considered by early military writers the only route across the eastern part of the Balkans practicable for the passage of an army. 'An important portion, however, of Marshal Diebitsch's force, after crossing the Kamchick at Dervish Jowan, a short way above the ferry, followed the route \*by Cape Eminch to Messembria and Burgas; and the Chiali-kavak pass is now, as has been already noticed, practicable for wheel-carriages, and was much used during the last Russian war. In the second route, the direct road to Nadir Dervend branches to the westward at Karapoonar, and proceeds through a high country, much resembling that on the Faki side, through Rusukasri and Benli to Aïdos, important as a position from its standing at a point where several roads meet. One of these, turning to the left, leads towards Carnabat and Yamboli, and the Kazan and Chiali-kavak passes. Another, to the right,

leads down the Aïdosdereh river, and between the salt lakes to Burgas. The last is that leading to Pravadi by the Nadir Dervend, considered by many to have been the greatest Roman pass.

The chief difficulties of this pass are on the Pravadi side of the Nadir Dervend, where it becomes very defensible; one branch of the road passing to the right, through a narrow gorge in the mountains, enclosed by lofty and rugged rocks, and descending through a defile of fifteen miles in length to Kiopri-kioi on the Kamchick; and another, which bears to the left, proceeding to Tchenga and Yenikioi, by a route equally defensible with the last mentioned, as far as Tchenga. Above that village are several large plateaus, well adapted for intrenched encampments. The Kamchick is more easily forded near Tchenga than in the vicinity of Kiopri-kioi.

This country is considered to afford very strong positions. The routes from Yenikioi and Kiopri-kioi converge and meet at Pravadi, and from Tchenga a path enters the Chiali-kavak road a little on the Shumla side of that place.

Other passes through the mountains in this neighbourhood have been lately discovered, and minutely described; but there is great reason to doubt their being available, without much preparation, for military purposes. It is more probable that, as long as the other passes are held by a defending army, after being properly strengthened, no advantage would be gained on the part of their opponents by employing, in order

to turn their position, paths more suited for the goat-herd and his flock, than for the passage of a modern army, with all its cumbrous *matériel*.

It is recorded, indeed, that the Persians turned the position of the Spartan warriors at Thermopylæ by availing themselves of a similar path; but could they have done so if either party had possessed even the lightest field artillery?

Next in importance to the west of the three passes already described is the Kazan pass, one branch of which commences at Carnabat, and, crossing the ridge, reaches Kazan, where it is joined by a more difficult road, ascending from Selinnia, and passing through Bash-kioi, a large Bulgarian village. From Kazan the route descending by Osman Bazar again separates into branches, leading to Shumla, Rasgrad, and Rustshuk. This pass, though bad, was used in the last Russian campaign, but chiefly by the Cossack corps.

Next towards the west comes the pass of the Demir Kapoo, or the Iron Gate, which crosses the Balkan range, at a great elevation (nearly 6,000 feet), and is little used. This route also is by Selinnia, and traversing the range, passes through the gorge—a very strong point—which gives the pass its name; and after reaching Stareka, it proceeds in several branches towards the Danube. From its elevation and difficulty of access, this route cannot be generally counted on in military operations—but still it is practicable.

About forty miles further west lies the pass above Kusanlik, ascending from the banks of the Toonja to

Shiska, and soon crossing the culminating point, where it descends by Gabrova; and one branch leads along the banks of the Yatra to Ternova, while another branch strikes off in a more westerly direction towards Rashova. The country on the Kusanlik side is described as rich and fruitful, and the route is much easier than those by Kazan. Once in the plains of Bulgaria, the roads may be said to branch off to every place of importance near the Danube.

It may be well to notice two other routes across the Balkan, although they cannot be said to afford great facilities for military purposes.

That next the Gabrova pass lies in a line between Philippopoli and Lofsha, a small town, in the direction of Nicopolis, and is said to be exceedingly bad, and hardly passable. That which follows in the same direction lies in a line between Sofia and Rashova, passing on the Bulgarian side of the mountains, through the small town of Vratza, whence roads branch out to Nicopolis, Rashova, and Widdin. This way was used in 1829 by General Geismar; who, having found a guide, marched by it from Rashova to Sofia, in order to get in rear of the Pasha of Scodra, near that place.

The last route to be described is the great road from Adrianople to Belgrade and Widdin, which is considered to turn the Balkan from the west, and is the easiest, though the longest route across these mountains.

This celebrated succession of comparatively easy passes may be said to commence about thirty miles to the west of Philippopoli, entering the gates of Trajan a

few miles to the west of Tartar Bazarjik, a town on a branch of the Maritza, and descending, after crossing the range, to Ichtiman, which stands on a stream flowing towards the Danube, they continue on to Sofia, which is considered to close the pass just adverted to.

Sofia, situated on a fine plateau, watered by the Isker, is a town of about thirty thousand inhabitants, chiefly Turkish, and is defended by a simple wall, flanked with towers; with a pasha's fortified residence in the centre; and notwithstanding its strategical importance, is by no means strong. In its neighbourhood are to be seen traces of the ancient Roman way, the track of which is still adhered to in the present route, keeping between the elevated ranges on both sides, and descending the Nissava and Morava to Nissa, situated at a distance of about eighty miles from Sofia, and a short way above the confluence of the two streams.

Nissa is another important strategical position, being situated at the junction of the great routes which lead to Widdin and Belgrade; but it is fortified no better than Sofia, and in much the same manner.

From Nissa, the route to Belgrade passes over an easy country, near the banks of the Morava; and that to Widdin presents no great difficulties.

Having described the passes of the Balkan, I shall now endeavour to give a view of the first line of defence beyond; although this line, which may be said to have its left at Ternova, and its right at Varna, has been repeatedly the subject of description before.

Ternova stands in a deep hollow, of volcanic origin,

on a plateau running into this concave declivity, and connected with the country above by a narrow precipitous ridge, covered with houses. The citadel is situated on a rock at its southern extremity, and communicates with the town by a bridge, the whole being surrounded by the river Yatra, a rapid stream, and considered to form a strong position. It covers the front of the Kusanlik pass, which is not one of great difficulty, though its defence is very important, more especially as routes from the side of Widdin enter the road to Gabrova in the rear, and consequently expose the defensive line to the risk of being turned in that direction.

Osman Bazar, though small in size, is the next place of any consequence on this line, being nearly equidistant from Ternova and Shumla, or about forty miles from each. The country is more mountainous on the Shumla side than on the other, and that fortress is approached, through precipitous passes and deep forests, by a small Turkish village called Eski Juma.

I shall here resume my description of the remaining portion of the line to Varna, from personal observation, as well as from the best authorities who have treated of the subject.

Shumla is regarded as the strongest position in the Balkan range. It stands at the junction of several roads, which converge in that direction from the right bank of the Danube, and at the mouth of the two principal passes over the Balkans, as well as at the head of the valleys through which the Pravadi and Kamchik rivers flow towards the Black Sea.

Shumla, being in a direct line of march to Constantinople, has hitherto been the usual rendezvous of the Turkish forces, when on the eve of war with Russia. It is environed, to the north-west and south, by a vast crescent of bold heights, and towards the east by a marshy ravine, which empties its waters into the Kamchik. It contains about six thousand houses, the lower portion of the town being inhabited by the Christians and the upper division by the Turks. It had long been surrounded by an enclosure of large extent, which ran up the heights to the rear, connecting it with an ancient fort or citadel, and which was flanked with small circular towers, capable of containing five or six defenders; but at the time of my visit, these defences, as well as later fortifications, had almost disappeared, in consequence of the operation of the treaty of Adrianople; and the works in general were in a very ruinous condition. The citadel, indeed, still existed, and might be regarded as the heart or kernel of the large intrenched camp thus formed. During the last war, these defences were augmented by an extensive *enceinte*, chiefly of earth and palisading, erected on the heights, requiring many troops to defend it. The flat projections usual in Turkish defences, instead of bastions, to give a flanking fire, were numerous in this work, and a double line of redoubts was constructed on the most commanding points, in front of the continuous lines of defence, as well as other detached works on the western and southern sides, to protect the town towards the Balkan.

But, as has been observed, these fortifications were, to a great extent, removed, or at all events so levelled as to be rendered useless, some years after the conclusion of the last peace, and it was not till the recent renewal of hostilities that any steps were taken to put them once more in order. New redoubts have since been constructed on the undulating plain to the eastward, and great attention has been directed to the protection of that side, so as to connect its defences with those on the higher ground on the flanks and in the rear, where heavy batteries have also been erected. Most of the works are furnished with guns mounted *en barbette*, commanding such points as an enemy could make available for the commencement of his approaches.

Still Shumla labours under the disadvantage of being in itself nearly an open town, surrounded with a chain of redoubts and other defences, and rather constituting a fortified position, requiring a large body of men to defend it, than a fortress which could, with a moderate garrison, resist a greatly superior force. And it has been often remarked, that this reputed stronghold may be turned to the west, by the route from Eski Juma and Osman Bazar, as well as to the east by the route from Pravadi to Carnabat, and at the same time that the defending force was blockaded by a corps from the Silistria side, an enemy's division arriving from Rasgrad by Eski Juma, and another from the Lower Danube by Bazarjik, might unite in very favourable positions in the valley of the Kamchik, near the villages of Eski



Stambool and Marash, between Shumla and the Chiali Kavak pass, and intercept all communications with Adrianople and other places in the rear. It is very certain that, in 1829, the Russians not only cut off the communication of Shumla with Adrianople, but crossed the mountains and marched there themselves. If the passes, however, had then been properly fortified and moderately defended, this might have been prevented. Previously, the Russians had always been arrested in their advance by the fortress of Shumla, as they attempted to possess themselves of it before entering the passes in its rear. The eastern side is the most accessible by nature, but the Russians on a former occasion scaled and crowned the heights, which form the southern portion of the crescent, though being unable to take up their artillery, they were soon obliged to abandon this position. As regards an attack, indeed, even the eastern side is difficult of access, from its marshy and broken neighbourhood, while the vicinity on all sides of mountain spurs, of such great extent, present equal difficulties to an investment; and attempts made at that time to invest the place were, after considerable loss, obliged to be relinquished.

During the last war something of the same kind occurred; and these results have established among the Turks a very exaggerated notion of the strength of Shumla, which opinion has, in consequence, spread into Europe; but men of professional experience, who have visited the spot, have at all times been greatly disappointed with its real condition. Even an ordinary

observer is astonished to find that the town is placed at the base of the heights, instead of having an elevated position within the strongest portion of its defences, entailing the necessity of an elaborate and extensive system of artificial defences below, to prevent an enemy from forcing his way into the place, or destroying its dwellings by bombardment; and the intrenched camp, with its small citadel on the mountain, seems so distant (more than a mile), and so inaccessible from steepness, as to involve great inconvenience and loss of time to the garrison in passing between it and the town.

The small citadel, or fort, called Strandsha Tabbia, terminates the north-east extremity of the narrow plateau, which forms the summit of the heights. This work, which is of solid masonry, consists of two enclosures, shaped somewhat like a bastion, with a cavalier, thus forming a double *enceinte* at that spot. I have remarked the same arrangement in treble as well as double ranges of masonry, in the more extensive citadels at Corinth and Napoli di Romagna, and I believe this was a usual style of defence with both Turks and Venetians, at the period when these fortresses were erected.

The other Turkish works above, once extended along the edge of the plateau alluded to, and were connected with this fort (which is a well-constructed work of its class), and had a slope *en glacis* in their front, sprinkled with low brushwood.

The camp itself, notwithstanding its precipitous position, does not give the impression of having ever

been very strong, and there is a want of connexion in it, especially between its most elevated portion and the works below, which must prove very detrimental in a defence. It seems as if the loss of the plateau would involve that of the whole stronghold, as the town and many of its detached defences are commanded from different parts of it. I remarked that the position of Koulefscha is visible from these heights; and it seems extraordinary that the advance of Diebitsch's force towards it from the Danube should not have been noticed and communicated to Redshid Pasha in time, when returning from his ill-judged expedition against Pravadi.

The measure of blockading Shumla, and passing on with the main army, has been looked upon, by those who have written upon the subject, as the best which could be adopted, although it seems one of very doubtful expediency, if the possession of Varna, and a preponderance on the Black Sea, were on the side of the defending party.

Even though not impregnable, and liable to a blockade, the situation of Shumla must always render it very important to contending armies. The valleys at the head of which it lies, run with a constant descent towards the gulf of Varna, skirting with their two rapid rivers the northern face of the Balkans, one passing through the lake which terminates its course, and finally entering the Black Sea at that fortress, and the other between the marsh already mentioned and the adjoining mountainous headland.

## CHAPTER VI.

THE LAST RUSSIAN WAR—DEFEAT OF REDSHID PASHA—HIS RETREAT FROM PRAVADI—CONFLICT WITH MARSHAL DIEBITSCH—DEFENCES OF PRAVADI—ROAD TO VARNA—BAY OF VARNA—FORTIFICATIONS OF VARNA.

ON leaving Shumla for Varna, the route passed near one of the detached forts at that time in progress, which is commanded from the heights behind the town, and afterwards by the remains of some well-constructed Russian redoubts, opening an extensive grassy plain, the scene of many affairs of cavalry during the last war. For about eight miles it resembles a racecourse in smoothness and elasticity; and although after the snows melt, and during the rainy season, it is said to become very deep and muddy, nothing could be more agreeable for the traveller than the ways between Shumla and Varna at this time. We reached Koulefscha, so famous as the scene of the route of Redshid Pasha's army, about one hour after leaving Shumla, the distance being about seven miles. It is not very easy to obtain intelligible accounts of this action; but there can be no doubt that Redshid Pasha sallied forth from Shumla with a force of about thirty thousand men, to attack the Russians at Pravadi, which formed

a fortified advanced post, as it were, to the fortress of Varna.

The Pasha failed in his attempt, and retired upon Shumla, followed, as one narrator asserts, by a single regiment of cavalry, supported by part of the Pravadi garrison, which pressed his retreat so much, near the village of Markofska, about half-way from Pravadi, that he was arrested by it for four hours in his march, having turned upon his pursuers, and ultimately repulsed them; while another statement—that of Baron Moltka—sets forth that Redshid Pasha found at Markofska a strong body of cavalry, posted in his front with six guns, and supported by infantry in the rear. It is affirmed that, although the Turks mistook this force for the two corps under Generals Roth and Rüdiger, which were known to be in the neighbourhood, they merely attacked with their cavalry and some artillery, but quickly routed it, causing a loss of four hundred men and five guns to their opponents, but that the Russian infantry, more fortunate than the cavalry, which was destroyed, escaped to a neighbouring wood by quickly changing front, and the Turks having thus opened a road across the mountain, continued their retreat. On reaching the Shumla side of the height, however, they discovered another strong Russian force occupying the defiles in their front, and consisting of not only the corps of General Roth and Rüdiger, but of a force amounting in all to about the same number as that of Redshid; Marshal Diebitsch having hurried up with a strong reinforcement from

the besieging army in the neighbourhood of Silistria, on hearing that Redshid Pasha had quitted the fortress of Shumla.

Although the forces on each side are said to have been nearly equal, and respectively to have exceeded somewhat thirty thousand men, the Turks had only about fifty pieces of cannon, while the Russians are averred to have had three times that amount.

Opinions vary as to whether the Grand Vizier could have regained Shumla without risking a battle, even with the loss of his baggage. Be that as it may, Redshid Pasha is reported to have attacked his opponents, after some delay, across the broken ground between him and the villages of Koulefsha and Chirkovna, where they were posted, and to have carried the position, and nearly cleared the plateau which they occupied, when, just as the remainder of the Russians were giving way, a body of hussars, under Count Pahlen, arrived most opportunely, and saved the army and its overpowering force of artillery from the impending defeat. No very distinct account can be obtained of the number of Russian troops so nearly routed; but it appears that it did not consist of their whole force, for now the main body began to come up from Matara, a village at a short distance towards Silistria. Their first attack was made on the left of the Turks by fourteen battalions of infantry, with thirty-five pieces of cannon, and a lancer division with a twelve-gun horse-battery.

The Turks, whose field train is described as having

been chiefly composed of siege-guns, drawn by oxen and buffaloes, are alleged to have suffered severely from the enemy's artillery, yet they succeeded in repelling this attack. By this time the whole Russian force had arrived in the strong position its commander had chosen, which not only outflanked the road to Shumla, but both sides of that occupied by the Turks. Under these unfavourable circumstances, the Vizier, with more valour than discretion, made a grand attack with his infantry on the right wing of the Russians, in hopes of forcing it back on the main body, and opening the road to Shumla.

A large body of Russian troops and guns had, however, been very naturally posted to defend this road, and Redshid Pasha was repulsed, and retired to his original position.

Having detached a division to Marash, in the rear of the Turkish left, Diebitsch, with his entire force, now made his final attack, chiefly directed against that flank of the Turks, doubtless anticipating that the flight which was soon to follow would take the direction of Shumla.

At first the Grand Vizier's army, again constrained to occupy the narrow portion of the valley, stood firm, and engaged with the enemy in a cannonade, in which it suffered to a fearful extent. This lasted till four in afternoon, when it was terminated, most fatally to the Vizier's troops, by a catastrophe which has so often occurred in the military operations of the Turks, and which ought to make their allies cautious of too great

an approximation to the Ottoman magazines, in the hurry and confusion of action, namely, an explosion of ammunition, which completed the catalogue of disasters, and was followed by a general *sauve-qui-peut*.

To show how difficult it is to obtain particulars of these campaigns,\* I may state that two of our officers, of professional reputation and undoubted talent, who visited these countries while they were still in Russian occupation, differ most materially in their statements of facts as to this and other engagements; and while one was informed that previous to the battle Diebitsch's force only reached Koulefsha in detached bodies, after Redshid Pasha had arrived there, the other learnt that the Russian commander was already formed in his position on the west side of the Koulefsha hills at daylight on the 11th of June (the day of the battle), but disposed his forces so as to deceive the enemy as to their strength.

Again, in speaking of the final rout of the Turkish force, one states that the Grand Vizier, after in vain trying to rally his followers, cut a passage through the enemy with his cavalry, and reached Shumla by a circuitous road two days after the battle, followed by his infantry, who continued to make their way through the woods in small detachments, and also gained the fortress in about ten days, with a total loss of only three

\* Since the first edition of this work was put in type, the scientific volume of Baron Moltke has appeared in a more accessible shape to the English reader.



thousand men, being little more than that given as the loss of the Russians.

According to the other account of the last Russian attack, Diebitsch, displaying his whole force, opened a tremendous fire on the Turks, and the rout became general, both among their horse and foot, the latter throwing away their arms, and some being seen to cling to the tails of the cavalry horses as they clambered over the hills; while the flight was so complete and instantaneous, that the Russians scarcely made a single prisoner; and that the Vizier himself, after gallantly striving to check the panic, was compelled to fly towards the Kamchik, with only a score of personal retainers, and crossing the neighbouring mountains, reached Shumla on the fourth day. It is added that of the whole Turkish army engaged, few, except the horsemen, returned to their colours; but we are not told, either by this account or the other, what became of the Turkish artillery.

An hour after leaving the ravine at Koulefsha, the traveller reaches the village of Markofska, which is surrounded by fine trees. The neighbouring country presents a peculiar appearance, being intersected in its smoothest parts by deep and rugged ravines, descending like cracks through the calcareous sandstone, which lies below the soil. When beginning to despair of reaching Pravadi, we suddenly came in sight of one of these precipitous openings in the grassy upland, disclosing in a valley below, of about a mile in breadth and of great length, a bird's-eye view of the town.

Descending slowly, we were struck by the appearance of poverty and ruin which reigned around. Pravadi contained formerly about two hundred houses, chiefly Turkish, as may be inferred from its having possessed six mosques and only two churches; but all these have suffered greatly, having been the scene of a conflagration during the war.

No traces of its former strength were to be detected at the period of my visit, although, as we have seen, it resisted but a few years before the attack of Redshid Pasha, with thirty thousand men, and fifty pieces of cannon.

We must turn for information respecting this subject to the contemporaneous authorities I have already quoted. One of these terms Pravadi an insignificant place, defended by a redoubt on the hill above, and garrisoned by five thousand men.\* “To storm this redoubt,” says our author, “and then march into the place, would have been the work of an hour; but instead of so doing, it was cannonaded for three days without effect, and three days longer it might have been cannonaded, had not a Tartar arrived with despatches from the Pasha left in command of Shumla, acquainting Redshid that while he was endeavouring to take Pravadi from the Russians, they might take Shumla from him, as Roth was marching in that direction.” The second authority gives a different

\* Pravadi was covered towards the south by several field-works near the village of Eski-arnaouthâr, and to the west by the horn-work.

view of the subject. Redshid Pasha's plan was, he says, to endeavour to overwhelm General Roth and retake Pravadi, in the hope that after the fall of that place, and of some of the other forts, he might possibly recover Varna, and, finally, relieve Silistria, assisted in this brilliant plan by expected support from Hussein Pasha at Rustshuk, in which he was, however, disappointed. Unable, in a first attempt, to make any impression on Pravadi, he retired with some guns he had taken and some prisoners to Shumla, but soon paid Pravadi a second visit with nearly the whole garrison of the former place. Our authority states, very differently from that first quoted, that Pravadi had been most carefully fortified by the Russians; an inundation covered by a battery protected the northern side of the town; a horn-work had been constructed on the commanding ground to the west; and the town itself, being surrounded with a wall flanked with *tenailles*, was perfectly defensible, notwithstanding its position in a deep valley.

All vestiges of these defences had disappeared when I visited it; but their erection proved its importance as a position in the eyes of the combatants. Redshid's attack is here said to have been irregularly made from the heights north-west of the town against the crown or horn-work (it is called by both names), by a desultory fire from a battery, and by attacks of cavalry against the garrison, stated at eight thousand men. We have already seen what followed this unsuccessful attempt.

Leaving Pravadi, or rather its ruins, we proceed about a mile up the valley, enclosed in abrupt cliffs of sandstone, and, on emerging on the Varna side, find before us an exact counterpart of the opposite plain; so much so, indeed, as to seem merely its continuation; when the spectator, advancing about one hundred yards, loses sight of the declivity. Monastir, and several other Bulgarian villages, lie on the way to Varna, which may be twenty-five or twenty-six miles from Pravadi; the plain just mentioned extending for the first four miles. About half-way, a wooden bridge carries the road over the Varna river below a good mill, leaving the Lake Devna to the right, at this time reaching high upon its banks. There is a valley here broader than that at Pravadi, and a little after crossing the river, we pass below the rocks which bound it on that side, and the shores of the lake. The country now opens, but continues undulating. We see in our front the bay and town of Varna, and the Black Sea beyond; while the Balkans rise to the right, and, at some distance to the left, a lower range of heights. Near the lake we pass remains of Russian intrenchments, and of a work resembling a horn-work, possibly a *tête de pont*, for close to Varna is a ledge separating the lake from the sea, near which are some low eminences resembling ancient tumuli.

At the town we found repairs in progress on the works; old walls being strengthened by earthen parapets, and so on, but somewhat rude in plan and execution. On the isthmus a new fort was nearly finished,

also like a horn-work in design, but with a very long curtain, having a battery or *tenaille* in advance of it.

Varna, as I have before observed, is described by writers of the beginning of the century, as being surrounded with a simple wall flanked with towers. It still bore marks of the presence of the Russian forces in the war of 1828, and of the destructive operations which followed. On the Shumla side, we had passed remains of the Russian redoubts erected round the place, at some distance beyond its own detached works, according to the system which they adopted in their siege operations here and at Shumla.

The repairs now going on were upon an extensive scale, but on a plan apparently of very doubtful expediency. The enclosure, which is quadrilateral, is about three miles in extent, and the portion to the north and west lying towards the land, and, consequently, that most liable to a regular attack, consisted only of a thin earthen rampart, with a narrow ditch of considerable depth in its front, reveted with masonry, but with no covert-way or glacis. Several forts, besides those I have alluded to, the plan of which it was difficult to understand, were in course of construction along the line of wall. It was said that nine in all were intended to be erected, but only four were then begun, and the portion of the wall not flanked by these was very great.\* One at the north-east angle seemed to be intended for a star-fort, and another at the north-

\* These works, since finished, seem chiefly to consist in bastions of pretty regular construction.

west extremity resembled a horn-work, or single front of fortification. At the south-eastern angle of the place is a fort or castle, with bastions, looking to the harbour, which is connected with the enclosure of the place in a similar style; but along the sea, to the eastward and westward, towards the lake, there is only a loopholed wall in the Turkish style.

The bastions separated by long curtains, which existed on the land side previous to the siege, are described as having been very flat. Those in Turkish works are generally so, and the salient angle, where any exists, is so obtuse, that the faces of the bastion bear the appearance of a continued straight line.

It is said that one cause of the great loss sustained by the Russians, in the siege of 1828, may be traced to their engineers having carried on their siege operations without the aid of ricochet batteries. This may, in some degree, be accounted for by the extreme flatness of the bastions and absence of a covert-way, ricochet batteries being usually erected in front of the flanks of the breaching battery, raised against the salient angle of a bastion or ravelin to sweep the *terre-plein* of its faces, and the covert-way in front of the counterscarp. The Russian attack seems to have been carried on, in great measure, by mines, which were also much resorted to by the defenders.

Very detailed accounts of the defence have been published, in which the besieged appear to have displayed much bravery; and the siege of Varna, however unscientific may be its fortifications, was protracted in

all to a period of nearly ninety days., of which about a third part elapsed after a breach, said to have been practicable, had been made.\* Seven hundred sappers, besides other labourers, were employed by the assailants in carrying on the siege, and sixty-five guns, of different sizes, were brought into operation. The fortress fell, at last, under circumstances which warranted suspicions of treachery. I remarked that the interior of the town was higher than the walls, and to the north, the country beyond them also rises into heights.

The works of the town, as they now stand, are stated to coincide very much with the foregoing description. The sandy soil of which they are formed makes it necessary, at the angles at which their profile is constructed, to employ fascines to retain the earth, which equally applies to the detached redoubts lately raised some hundred yards further on; and the usual objection to Turkish fortresses exists—that the circumference of the *enceinte* is so great as to call for an inconvenient number of defenders. The works, however, are said to be now well mounted with heavy ordnance, of more modern construction than formerly.

\* Col. Chesney's Russo-Turkish Campaigns, and Moltka's Russians in Bulgaria.

## CHAPTER VII.

BELGRADE — CURRENT OF THE DANUBE — FRONTIER DEFILES —  
 ORSOVA — TRAJAN'S BRIDGE — WIDDIN — NICOPOLIS — POSITION  
 OF PASSAGE — SISTOVA — RUSTSHUK — GIURGEVA — SILISTRIA —  
 TURTUKIOI — IBRAILOFF AND GALATZ — MATCHIN — TULCHA —  
 ISMAIL — READJUSTMENT OF BOUNDARY — THE DOBRUDSHA.

ALTHOUGH descriptions of the line of the Danube and its fortresses, handed down with slight additions from one author to another, are by no means wanting, it would be an omission not to give in these pages a brief sketch of this important locality, notwithstanding that, at the time I was in Bulgaria, the Russian occupation of fortresses on the right bank, as well as a quarantine of some weeks imposed purposely to exclude travellers, prevented my personally inspecting it.

The first fortress situated on the Danube, after it becomes the Austrian boundary, is Belgrade, which was formerly considered the best Turkish fortress on the river, but its situation on the Servian, and not the Bulgarian frontier, many miles above the Principalities, renders it a position not likely to be available during a Russian war, unless operations extend on that side. It has the form of an irregular triangle; one side being covered by the Danube, another by the Save,



and the third lying in a curve towards the country, and having at its extremity a crown-work, called the castle. Towards the junction of the rivers is a citadel, on a rounded eminence, fortified with considerable regularity. The town, standing between the castle and the citadel, is enclosed towards the country by a bastioned *enceinte*, but on the other sides by curtains with redans, and, consequently, here are its weakest points. The side on the Save was attacked with success in 1789, but that towards the country effectually withstood the attack of the Austrian General Laudon, who is said to have made the parapet of his trenches too low and weak, owing to a want of earth; and as the Turks commanded these with a plunging fire, at about eighty paces from the crown-work, their numerous artillery ought soon to have destroyed them.

A chain of heights runs along the Save, from the eminence on which the citadel stands, but soon turns towards the Danube; and it was from this point the place was attacked when besieged by Prince Eugene. It is reckoned the most accessible part for a regular attack, though the undulating and broken ground between it and the citadel would also favour the operations of the defenders.

The Danube's general course from Belgrade to the Dobrudsha is from west to east, but with a slight curve to the south, running nearly parallel to the Balkan range. The right bank is the highest and the most undulating, the Wallachian side being almost everywhere low and marshy. A little below Belgrade, the

current, in a channel of seven hundreds yards broad and eighteen feet deep,\* is four miles an hour. Towards the mouth of the river its speed is diminished one-half.

From Belgrade to Semendria the forts are merely what the Turks term *palankas*, being at most simple enclosures with flanking towers, and they are sometimes only earthen works. Semendria is important simply as what the French term a *position de passage*, being situated at the point where routes branch out towards Adrianople and Silistria.

The right bank of the Danube is elevated and crowned with small heights, where excellent wine is made, as far as the junction of the Morava, the *Mons Aureus* of the Romans. Below this point the mountains on both sides approach nearer the river, enclosing it within granite rocks. Here the current is so strong that vessels can only ascend by tracking; and the channel abounds with large rocks, which sometimes show themselves above the surface. Both banks are precipitous, and enclose the defiles which communicate between Hungary and Wallachia, as well as Servia and Bulgaria, the roads being excavated in the sides of the rock—that on the right bank, in the form of steps, by Trajan, as an existing inscription attests; and that on the left, winding round an immense rock, which contains a cave, celebrated from the memorable defence of Major Stein, in a former Austrian war with the Turks. The river

\* This is given as the depth by good authority, but in some places the Danube has a depth of about 80 feet.

makes a great bend to the north at the entrance of these defiles, which terminate at its extremity, where the ruinous fortress of Orsova, situated on a small island in the river, separates Hungary and Wallachia. The fortress is a long quadrangle with redans, flanked with four bastions; and considered the key both of Hungary and Wallachia, though, from the conformation of the neighbouring mountain chains, its importance as a frontier fortress is, according to the general opinion, greater to Austria than to the neighbouring powers.

Here the frontiers of Servia, Wallachia, and Hungary all meet; and the Danube presents for a time a noble sheet of water, but is soon enclosed again in a bed of granitic rocks, at a point where the Carpathians meet the lower spurs of the Balkan. The navigation of the river, which is very dangerous at this spot, might, it is said, be avoided, by re-establishing an ancient canal cut in the left bank. Below, between the villages of Castol and Czernetz, once stood the Trajan bridge, of which some piles and arches still exist, attesting the boldness and solidity of the work. The river here is about one thousand yards in breadth, and the bridge is said to have had twenty arches. It was situated at the extremity of the bend made by the Danube in its curve to the south, before descending to Widdin, where the mountains, retiring on the right, give passage to the Timok, which separates Servia from Bulgaria.

Lower down, on the right bank, between the Servian frontier and Widdin, there is a bomb-proof work of Austrian construction, situated on an island, and it is

described as being well calculated for the defence of the passage across the river. Hence, it would have importance, should any attempt be made to turn the fortress, which is, however, improbable, as long as it is properly garrisoned.

Widdin, also situated on the right bank of the river, is of a semicircular shape, the Danube forming the diameter. Its western portion was formerly regarded as the citadel, and the remainder as the walled suburbs. The fort is a long and irregular pentagon, flanked by five bastions ; and the walls, once stated to be a simple enclosure with redans, are described by later writers as having seven bastioned fronts, with ravelins of tolerably regular construction, and a revetment of forty feet in height, as well as a covert-way and glacis beyond a deep and wide ditch, which can be filled and emptied at pleasure.

Widdin must, therefore, if this description be correct, be capable of making a very good defence on the land side ; and it is defended towards the river by a rampart, with square towers at intervals. Between the town and the celebrated *tête de pont* of Kalafat, lies an island. Omar Pasha, being aware that the proximity of the island to Widdin rendered the safety of the *tête de pont* of much importance, enveloped it, at some distance on the side facing the enemy, with strong and extensive additional works, forming a large intrenched camp.

From Widdin to Rahova, the sole defences on the right bank of the Danube are Lom and another work,

both described as *palankas* ; and even at Rahova there are only two detached works of a similar kind. The defences from hence to Nicopolis are equally weak and insignificant ; so that, in a distance of about a hundred miles on the line of the Danube, namely, from Widdin to Nicopolis, no permanent fortress has yet been erected, though so necessary, whether to interrupt the passage of an enemy, to menace his rear if he advanced from the river, or to harass his retreat should he be obliged to recross it : and this is a deficiency which ought not to be passed over in silence by any one giving a description of the locality, for the benefit of those who may have to carry on operations in the neighbourhood of the Danube.

Nicopolis is built on a height, and is connected with the river by an irregularly-revetted enclosure of earthen parapets, and a ditch flanked with flat bastions. On the left bank, according to former descriptions, is a *tête de pont*, said not to possess sufficient development, and which might be taken in reverse ; but, as it is averred by a recent author that two forts, called the old and new castle, exist, both of which are commanded and protected by the guns of the place at the distance of nine hundred yards, and exactly opposite to it on the left bank, it is to be presumed that the defences there have been augmented.

Nicopolis is important as a position of passage, being situated opposite to where the junction of the Alout with the Danube opens the way to all Wallachia. An undulating plain extends from the town to the base of

the Balkans, and was, in 1396, the scene of a famous and sanguinary conflict between Sultan Bajazet and King Sigismund of Hungary, in which the army of the latter was completely routed, and the King forced to seek safety in flight. The Turks were at that time better tacticians than their European antagonists, but sullied their success by the massacre of their prisoners. Beyond Nicopolis, the hills bordering the right bank retire and approach alternately, and in the basins thus formed lie Sistova, Rustshuk, Turtukioi, and Silistria.

Sistova, at the point where the Yatras joins the Danube, is, like Nicopolis, enclosed with works erected at different periods, and built on heights; on one of which is a castle of ancient date, and the western acclivity is defended by recent constructions, consisting of long curtains, having earthen parapets faced with hurdles, flanked by semicircular bastions. In general, Turkish fortresses are a combination of old works, on a system which was approved at the period of their construction, strengthened more recently by imperfect modern works, still more imperfectly executed, and generally deficient in strength, and requiring many men to occupy them.

About forty miles lower down stands Rustshuk, which is commanded by heights to the south-west, within cannon-shot of the walls; but these are stated to have been recently occupied with five detached bastioned redoubts, executed in earth, and armed with a mixture of heavy guns and field-pieces. The regular enclosure of the place, towards the country, consists of eight

bastioned fronts, without ravelins or other outworks, which are revetted half-way up with masonry, and have a ditch and counterscarp; while on the eastern side of the town there is a bastioned citadel. It is alleged, indeed, that the old works in this direction have been dismantled, and a new area, which is connected with them, enclosed beyond, in order to command the plain, where it is traversed by the route from Turtukioi and Silistria. As, owing to the flatness of the ground, and the nature of the soil, which would afford the enemy great facilities in carrying on their operations, this side is very likely to be chosen for making an attack upon the place, it is desirable that the works within should not be left dismantled.

The front towards the river is very irregularly fortified, the engineer trusting, doubtless, to the improbability of its being attacked, as the opposite town of Giurgeva (lately occupied by the Russians), was looked upon as a *tête de pont* covering it on that side. Between the two places lies an island occupied by a fort. Further on comes a pentagonal work in stone, protecting the harbour on the left bank; and beyond this again lies the town of Giurgeva, forming a semicircle towards Wallachia, and which had been strengthened in its defences just before it was occupied by the Russians. All these works have been considered by some as without the range of the cannon of Rustshuk; but batteries have recently been constructed, mounting on the right bank close to the river, guns which reach as far as Giurgeva, although distant two thousand yards, and from these the

Russians, while occupying that place, were seriously annoyed by the Turks. It is, however, to be feared that Rustshuk, besides requiring much repair, is very indifferently armed for its great extent. Less than two hundred pieces of cannon, many of which are in a faulty state, are said to have been lately present in a place four miles in circumference, and therefore requiring a large garrison, and a powerful armament for its defence. Rustshuk and Giurgeva have been compared, as regards situation, to Mayence and Cassel on the Rhine, but the party occupying the island, which lies between, might from thence batter whichever of these places was held by its opponent.\* Rustshuk is said to contain as many as forty thousand inhabitants.

The next Danubian fortress is Silistria, containing about twenty-five thousand inhabitants; for Turtukioi, which has lately become celebrated in connexion with Oltenitza on the opposite bank, from Omar Pasha's successful repulse of the Russians, is not a fortified place, but owes its present strength to judiciously placed field-works, erected on both banks of the river, and on the island between them. Before the last war it had some inconsiderable defences, but these were destroyed and had not been restored. Turtukioi stands at the junction of the Argish and Danube, and is the best

\* Published opinions certainly differ very strongly as to whether even the island is within reach of the cannon of Rustshuk; but we have, on the other hand, accounts of thirty-six pounder guns having thrown shot from Rustshuk to Giurgeva.



place for passing that river from Bucharest. Silistria has much importance among the towns of the right bank, from being, like Rustshuk, a chief commercial *entrepôt* between Bulgaria and Wallachia. Like most of the other fortresses, it is of semicircular form, the Danube being the chord, and the enclosure on the side of the country the arc.

Although the descriptions given by different writers of the works of this place vary considerably, all give an impression that they are neither regular nor strong. The older descriptions speak of it as being rather an intrenched camp than a fortress, having on the side of the country six earthen redoubts, connected by curtains with *chevaux de frize*, augmented on the river side by a small square fort, on a height flanked with four towers. By later accounts it is said to be surrounded by ten fronts of fortification, each having an extremely long curtain, connecting two small bastions, which give an imperfect flanking fire on the ditch—with a scarp and counterscarp, possessing scarcely a relief of fifteen feet, the scarp having a hurdle parapet, and a row of strong palisades rising within and above its crest. There is a low and imperfect glacis, without a covert-way or outworks of the usual description; but, instead of these, there are three detached redoubts closed at the gorge, while a fourth stands at the western angle of the town, and the eastern extremity is guarded by a fifth, flanking the works on the river side, and giving protection to vessels at anchor. The neighbourhood, especially to the south-west, is said to command the works.

Beyond Silistria, the heights retire on the right towards the village of Kousgun ; and the Danube, bending towards Rassoza, forms a great curve, at the commencement of which is Hirsova, the next place of any strength ; and at its northern extremity Ibrailoff and Galatz. Isacha and Tulcha are situated where the river resumes nearly a straight easterly course towards the Black Sea.

Hirsova is described as having previously to 1809 been a small place, simply defended by an old castle to the westward, and as deriving its sole importance from then possessing a permanent bridge of boats, “ the only one on the Danube ;” but this led to the Turks adding to its defences, and constructing around it five bastioned and revetted fronts, surrounded by a ditch, having, however, a defective contour with several dead points, and being commanded by ground without, especially by the island below the town.

From Silistria to Galatz, the left bank is very low and marshy, and as far as Hirsova only a few miserable villages, inhabited by fishermen, are to be seen ; but here we begin to discover at intervals isolated heights, which rise like islands from the plain, and on two of these stand Ibrailoff and Galatz. The right bank is little more elevated, and communication from place to place is frequently kept up by means of causeways, often inundated by the waters of the marshes.

Ibrailoff stands on the left bank, and the height on which it is situated, sloping gradually towards the river, commands its course. It was originally a simple

square enclosure, with towers at the angles, but this *enceinte* had been augmented by a bastioned pentagon, and a ditch eighteen feet in depth. The curtains, although carrying artillery, were not, when constructed, faced with masonry; but it is stated that both the scarps and counterscarps of the work are now revetted, and that it has a glacis and a castellated citadel within the western flank of the town, but no outworks. Matchin lies at some little distance from Ibrailoff, on the right bank, and is separated from it by some desert islands. It is said to be a small, but pretty well constructed fort, surrounded with seven bastioned and revetted fronts, with a sort of citadel within, on a height commanding the town below, and looking towards the Danube. Matchin contains about fifteen hundred inhabitants.

At the bottom of the rounded curve, made here by the Danube, stands Galatz, on the left bank, in a corner, as it were, of Moldavia, at the only spot where that Principality is washed by the waters of the river, and between the points where the Sireth and the Pruth flow into it. It is a great commercial *entrepôt*, having twenty thousand inhabitants, but has no fortifications except a castle, where the governor resides. At Isachā, which lies beyond Galatz, on the other bank, to the east of Matchin, there is a small fort, once surrounded by a town of two or three thousand inhabitants. It is the crossing-place for travellers going into Bessarabia, and is supposed to have been the spot where Darius passed into Scythia. Here, too, the first

Russian corps, assisted by a dyke, made at the time by the neighbouring Cossack tribe, entered the Dobrudsha in 1828, when they burnt the suburb.

From the ferry at this place, two causeways skirt the left bank, the best of which leads to the town of Reni, where the Danube first becomes the boundary between Russia and Turkey, dividing itself at some distance on into three branches, which flow through a low and marshy plain. The middle, or Sulina branch, which is about two hundred yards wide, with a mean depth of eighteen or twenty feet, is the only one navigable for vessels of any size. There is a muddy bar at its mouth, where the water varies in depth from eight to ten or twelve feet, according to the care which may be taken to cause vessels in passing over it to drag a kind of rake astern, so that it can only be kept clear by constant attention.

The next fortified place on the right bank was Tulcha, which consisted of an hexagonal work with ravelins. Tulcha is situated at an angle in the river, near to where the three branches divide; the two which lie to the south having formerly been defended by it, while the northern branch is still guarded by the Russian fortress of Ismail and the fort of Kilia, from which that branch derives its name. Tulcha was the *tête de pont* of Ismail, when both belonged to Turkey. Its works were destroyed by the Russians in 1829, and I do not know to what extent they have been restored. The neighbouring ground is described as being unfavourable to defence.

Ismail, destroyed as a town by Suvarrow, and now resembling an intrenched camp, is about three miles in circumference, and forms a polygon, with a brick revetment, which reaches to two-thirds of the height of the scarp, with a ditch and covert-way.

It is very difficult to ascertain the recent condition of Russian fortresses; but Ismail has been described as not having been strengthened with judgment since it changed masters, and its original plan has not been improved in the manner which its situation would have rendered easy, the curtains being represented as out of proportion, while the bastions abound in dead angles. It stands nearly on a flat, except to the north; and care should have been taken in erecting new fortifications, to have left the heights on that side at a distance, as their proximity, by affording cover for an enemy's approaches, materially weakens the place, and the enclosure should at the same time have been extended towards the west.

The place thus corrected would have had the Danube to the south; to the west a marsh; and to the east would have included a height, from the summit of which a plunging fire could have been directed over the neighbouring country; and lastly, to the north, it would have had a solid front, commanding a view of the chief points liable to attack. It is highly probable, I think, that Russia may have profited by these opinions, since they were published by a French engineer; and this point ought, when an opportunity occurs, to be made the subject of investigation.

The fort of Kilia, owing to its branch being hardly navigable, is thought of little importance, and I do not know the details of its defences. The channel of St. George, which is now the Turkish boundary, is about one hundred yards wide, and ten or twelve feet in general depth, but the bottom is encumbered with mud, and a bar exists at its mouth. Subsequently to the last Russian war, an experienced engineer expressed an opinion that the line of the Danube possesses too many fortresses, nearly all ill constructed; and, indeed, the only bastions existing in these defences at that time, which he considered regular, were to be found at Belgrade, Widdin, and Ismail, and those places alone, in his estimation, were capable of withstanding a regular attack. He considered the space left without defence between these fortresses to be too great, and that the river, notwithstanding its enormous volume of water, presents a very insufficient barrier. The only fortress now Turkish, in fact, to which he attaches any real importance, is Widdin; and he recommends that three new ones should be erected on a different plan, and all the old works, with the exception of Widdin, destroyed. As to the situations of the new forts, according to this authority, one should be on the Belgrade side of Widdin, and the two others in well-chosen sites on the eastern side of that fortress, between it and the Black Sea, one probably at Turtukioi. As this officer, however, counts on Belgrade as a Turkish fortress, I presume that if his plans were carried out, four instead of three new fortresses would now have to

be constructed, when no Russian army could advance beyond the Danube without taking at least two of these strongholds as a preliminary step.

At a moment when the permanent defence of the Ottoman Empire is so great an object, I have thought it not inopportune to refer to these opinions; and I shall now say a few words respecting the Delta, or peninsula of the Dobrudsha.

The Dobrudsha may be said to commence at the remains of Trajan's wall, running between Tchernavoda on the Danube, and Kustendjeh on the Black Sea, which bounds it to the eastward, while the river flows round it to the west and north. An author, who has written on the strategical peculiarities of this neighbourhood, describes it as presenting four lines of defence, which might be successively occupied with advantage against an army crossing from Bessarabia. The first, covered at its centre by the town of Babadag, extends from Matchin to Kara-Kirman, a small ill-fortified place; the second, covered by Karasoo and Trajan's Wall, from Rassoza to Kustendjeh; the third, covered by the town of Karagatch, from Kusgun to Mangali; and the fourth, covered by Bazarjik, from Silistria to the port of Kavarna: all affording natural and artificial obstacles to an enemy's advance.

The last line is considered very important, from being connected, on one side, by Bazarjik with Varna, and on the other by Kainargi with Silistria; and as presenting to an army in march towards Constantinople, a base of operation resting at once on the Danube

and the Black Sea, where the port of Kavarna would be very useful for the disembarkation of supplies.\*

The wall of Trajan is, at the present day, traceable only by a succession of earthen embankments, such as are to be met with in the Roman camps in Britain; but I do not know how far these could be made available in the construction of field-works. A chain of shallow lakes runs partially across this isthmus; but as the ground towards the east is stated to be several hundred feet higher than the sea, no canal could be constructed across it, nor can the Danube ever have flowed into the sea at this point, as was at one time supposed.

The northern portion of the Dobrudsha, near Matchin and Babadag, is described as granitic, but southwards a porous limestone prevails, with a great scarcity of water on its surface; and hence we find the Dobrudsha rather a desert region, and poorly peopled, though it is said to abound in horned cattle.

Kustendjeh stands on a promontory, where the limestone cliffs rise high above the sea, and shelter its small harbour, which possesses an ancient and ruined mole; but it is shallow, having in many places only seven feet of water. It has been proposed to fortify and occupy Kustendjeh with allied troops.

The great value of the Principalities to Russia, for purposes of aggression on Turkey, must be very apparent to every one; Wallachia having been more

\* Since this passage was written, Baltjik in this bay has been the station of the allied fleets.



than once the *place d'armes* in which she has assembled her invading army, while Moldavia is equally convenient, when the intention may be to cross the Austrian frontier. It is very essential that, hereafter, these two large provinces should not remain in the anomalous position in which they have hitherto stood, and for this reason, the connexion of Wallachia with Turkey should be cemented, so as to be more real and distinct, thus establishing a strong frontier for her towards Russia, with an armed force always present, more proportioned to that kept up immediately across the boundary-line by her hereditary foe.

If the hostilities in progress are brought to the successful close there is every reason to hope for, it is out of the question I should presume that Russia can expect to retain possession of territories acquired by treachery and aggression, in defiance of the laws of nations, particularly as such retention would be dangerous to the peace of Europe. The point, therefore, to consider, and to decide beforehand, is, what line of boundary should be established between her and Turkey, as the strongest and best for the latter power, as well as for the neighbouring States bordering on Russia.

The Danube, of course, would cease to be a Russian boundary; but Turkey, never possessing a very powerful or manageable military establishment, would be rendered less vulnerable, by a short well-defined frontier, properly fortified, than with one of greater length, more distant from the base of operations. From the

sea to Galatz, her best frontier would be nearly that which now exists, with this difference, that the right bank of the Sulina, instead of the St. George's branch of the Danube, should be the limit of her empire in that direction. From Galatz a straight line might be drawn westward, which would join at the distance of a few miles the present border between Wallachia and Moldavia, and proceed with it till it intersects the Austrian frontier, where it passes along the Carpathian mountains. This new frontier would rest on the Carpathian range to the left, and on the Black Sea to the right, and would not much exceed one hundred and fifty miles in length. One-half of this distance is strong in natural defences, and already furnished, to a small extent, with fortified places, bordering the river, and the construction of a few strong fortresses in well-chosen positions, between Galatz and the mountains, would complete a short and defensible boundary.

The protectorate of Moldavia is really of no value to Turkey, when weighed against the acquisition of a frontier, which would place her, for the future, in comparative safety against the constantly-repeated assaults of her enemy. Let her, therefore, resign it, as the present condition of Moldavia not only subjects that Principality, even more than Wallachia, to the risk of perpetually-recurring misfortune as the seat of war, or, at least, of foreign military occupation, but is also dangerous to the protecting power, and to the States in nearest proximity to her.

It will be perceived that a line drawn in prolonga-

tion of the frontier of the Austrian province of Galicia, would very soon join the course of the Pruth, and continue with it till its confluence with the Danube; or by trending a little to the eastward it would meet the Dniester, and include Bessarabia. Why should not the protectorate of Moldavia, and even the territory of Bessarabia, be accorded to Austria, if she were to join heartily in a war of territorial settlement? No nation understands better the science of erecting fortresses; and even the Poles, if they knew their interest, ought to be happy to exchange the sway of Russia for a protectorate, at least, under Austria. Should, however, the Pruth, and not the Dniester, still continue to be the Russian boundary for a certain distance, then the Turkish frontier should be made to include all the branches of the Danube below Galatz, so as to restore Ismail and Kilia to the Porte.

While Russia can, by taking advantage of the situation of salient and wedge-like portions of her own territory, or by the occupation of weak countries in her vicinity having a similar configuration, penetrate, at any moment, the frontier lines of her neighbours, she must continue to possess not only a most baneful degree of underhand influence in such States, and the ready means of exciting political commotions among the disaffected, as she is now doing towards the Adriatic, but be at all times enabled to rush suddenly across the frontier with an armed force, in any direction where she may think proper, to seize upon a territory to which she has no right, for the purpose of

enforcing arbitrary terms opposed to the laws by which civilized nations consider themselves mutually bound towards each other.

A few concluding words may be offered respecting the Dobrudsha, as a possible scene of operations of the French and English armies.

The climate of that peninsula is so insalubrious as to afford a strong reason against making it a field even for the more active description of proceedings of so fine and valuable a force,—not very numerous, and brought, at so great a cost, from such a distance. Apart, however, from this important consideration, there can be no doubt that the Dobrudsha being cleared of its present occupants, and the fortresses between the mouth of the Danube and the termination of the old Roman wall at Chernavoda, being taken, strengthened, and occupied by such garrisons as could be depended upon for their defence, would be a very great desideratum, with a view to a subsequent and more direct advance across the Danube into the Principalities. We may conclude that the Russians were fully aware of this fact before they lately occupied that locality at such an expense of life; for although their Government is not much influenced by feelings of humanity, even towards its own subjects, when carrying on war, they are fully aware of the value of men and horses in relation to contemplated results, and of the effects produced on the success of a campaign by their loss. No

doubt our men and horses are of vastly more value to us than an equal number would be to the Russians; but there is a difficulty in finding any locality where hostilities can be actively carried on against that empire which is not subject to some objection.

Supposing, then, it should be determined to drive the Russians from the Dobrudsha, it appears that an important, and even a preliminary step to a land attack would be to occupy the Sulina branch with such steamers as could pass the bar, armed with guns affording the longest range. These fairly in possession of the navigation, nearly to Tulcha, a rapid advance might take place from some healthy position in front of Varna, of as strong a corps as could be mustered, so that the risk of want of supplies and loss of health should not be of long continuance. Some picked Turkish troops, and intelligent natives, to assist in getting supplies, and in giving general aid, should form part of the attacking force, and, in my opinion, Ismail, although it is not within fire of the branch which we should chiefly use, ought to be at once reduced and occupied, and its defences improved, particularly those to the northward.

The portion of the Dobrudsha lying north of Baba-dagh, is understood to be higher, and consequently more healthy, than its other extremity; and the rocks are granite instead of limestone, as in the south end. The large lagoons called Raselm Bay, &c., which open to the sea in that vicinity, could probably be used by small steamers and ships' launches, or at least by

smaller boats, for the transport of supplies, which could be brought up a branch of the Danube running into the lagoon. I do not know how near steamers could approach to Ismail from the side of Tulcha, so as to assail it at long range, or for the purpose of landing troops, but I believe the depth of water in the Kilia branch, till fairly below Ismail, is quite sufficient. The reduction of Tulcha and Isacha—which the Russians are most probably already employed in strengthening—to command the Sulina branch at the former, and the part of the river at the latter place, which is so important, should not be delayed a moment after the undertaking may seem practicable. With their left flank threatened by the occupation of the forts of the Dobrudsha, their right flank still held at bay beyond Widdin, and the navigation of the river opened to Galatz, a much more favourable state of affairs would exist with reference to an advance into the Principalities than is now the

\* Since the first edition of this work appeared, the evacuation of the Principalities by the Russians has in some degree altered the aspect of the war.

## CHAPTER VIII.

SINOPE—TREBIZOND—STARTING FOR ERZEROUM—THE DEREH  
BEYS—MOUNTAIN PATHS—THE TEN THOUSAND—CROSSING THE  
SNOW—STAVROS—SILVER MINES—GHUMESH KHANEH—BAIBOOT  
—ROUTE TO BATOOM—NECESSITY OF DEFENCES—PASTORAL  
COUNTRY—ERZEROUM—HASSAN KALLEH.

SOME time after visiting Bulgaria, I left Constantinople in a steamer for Trebizond, with an English party proceeding officially to Persia. The weather was exceedingly fine; and, passing rapidly on, we stemmed with ease the different strong currents of the Bosphorus, soon reaching the Black Sea, where evening found us in view of the wooded shores of Bithynia.

The voyage continued pleasant, and running along the Paphlagonian coast, in sight of the blue outlines of Mount Sagara, and doubling Cape Karempéh, which presents a fine, bold, and thickly-wooded shore, we passed several villages nestling in the valleys, which lay at the foot of the surrounding mountains. At intervals the soil appeared to be well cultivated, but we could discern no trace of a road along the beach; nor did the traffic or communication seem to be provided for by water-carriage, as we saw very few boats.

Doubling Cape Sagara, we came in view of Sinope, since rendered so famous by the Russian massacre. The town, which is situated on an isthmus, is enclosed by ancient walls, resembling in appearance those of the suburb of Galata at Constantinople; and at its western extremity there is a castle, also of antique masonry. We rounded the peninsula, which is composed of high rugged land, near an isolated rock, rising a short distance from the shore, in water of about twenty-two fathoms depth, and immediately opened the fine harbour, which is well sheltered from the prevalent winds of the Black Sea. On shore there are numerous rocks in the vicinity, apparently of volcanic origin.

Crossing the Gulf of Sinope, with a similar shore to the south, we reached the mouth of the river Kizzil Ermek, the ancient Halys, which empties itself into the sea through a long, low delta of sandy soil, broken into numerous islands, covered with wood; which, in fact, almost conceal the numerous branches of the stream itself, and we should probably have passed the mouth without suspecting its existence, only for the discoloured appearance of the water, here seeming to be mixed with yellow sand. A fine amphitheatre of mountains rises in the background, shutting in the view, while the same low coast extends as far as Cape Oros, a bold mountainous promontory, somewhat resembling Cape Emineh, which terminates the range of the Balkan on the Black Sea.

We now cleared this coast, and sighted Trebizond,



which is finely situated in a country rich in wood, highly cultivated near the shore, and backed by mountains. A small promontory beyond the town, guarded by a castle in a dilapidated state, forms one side of the roadstead, which appears to be very much exposed; and, on casting anchor, we experienced an extremely heavy swell. At the moment, indeed, the weather was inauspicious, and one of those heavy thunder-showers so frequent near the Caucasus, burst around us, almost shrouding the shore, which loomed through the haze in dim outline. It was not till the following day that we landed, when we established ourselves under the hospitable roof of the Vice-Consul, and enjoyed a few days' leisure on shore.

About a mile to the rear of the town is a remarkable isolated height, which I lost no time in visiting. It occupies an area of about two miles in length by one in breadth, and was then covered with verdant turf, the finest and smoothest I ever saw. The foundations of numerous old walls, of a very solid character, present themselves in all parts of the hill, and, from their material and style, appear to be the remains of the ancient Trebizond, which, no doubt, stood on this spot, and derived its name from the 'table-like form of the eminence. Large but low steps cut in the rocks facing the present town, seem to mark ancient flights of stairs, and at the south-western extremity are the ruins of a small chapel, and of a square building, evidently of a more recent date. A Tekeli, or Turkish convent, with its garden, surrounded by a stone wall, stands on the

northern slope of the hill, and commands a pretty view, embracing features of considerable interest.

The neighbourhood presents many old castellated walls and towers erected in the time of the Lower Empire, which are wonderfully perfect, and have a very picturesque effect. The castle, which dates from the Comneni, is of great extent, and in a good style of Byzantine architecture. In many places, the walls enclose marble blocks, bearing both Greek inscriptions and European coats-of-arms, which seem to lend some foundation to the assertion of the Turks, that the walls were erected by the Genoese; and, at any rate, warrant a belief that the town was once in Italian occupation.

Trebizond has the appearance of a populous place, and is said to contain 18,000 inhabitants. It is governed by a Pasha of the first class. In ordinary times, the military service is, I believe, performed by the inhabitants; but the town might be made to accommodate 15,000 men. The best places of disembarkation, in a heavy surf, are at Platin, six or seven miles to the west, or the river's mouth, one mile to the east. Packages of one and a quarter hundredweight might easily be dragged through the surf. The castle appears to be no defence.

On leaving Trebizond, we determined, as our party was rather numerous, to set out for Erzeroum in two divisions. The second, with which I travelled, formed a goodly cavalcade of thirty-three horses and mules, completely exhausting the means of transport which could be collected at the post-houses for the conveyance

of travellers. Many of our company, indeed, were but indifferently mounted, and among these was a Persian Sooltan, or captain of one of the regular infantry corps, who cut a very sorry figure on his Rosinante-looking steed.

We commenced our preparations at an early hour, but it was past eight before we set out, after repeated delays, consequent on the arrangements indispensable at the outset of such an expedition. The morning was delightful, and everything looked fresh and cheering. Climbing the rocky heights behind the town, a slippery and precipitous path on the other side brought us, by nine o'clock, to a small Turkish coffee-house, situated in the great valley which we were to traverse for our day's work, intending to confine this first start to a journey of six hours, or about eighteen miles. The country was mantled in all the verdure of spring, while its interesting and diversified features, including the picturesque effects of wood, water, and luxuriant vegetation, attracted the eye on every side. Streams fed by the snow of the mountains poured down in numberless channels to the river, which had overflowed its banks and irrigated the adjacent land; and the air was redolent with the odours of the azalia and rhododendron, growing around in dense thickets, while the prospect was embellished by a variety of trees only found in perfection in Eastern climes, from the solemn cedar and waving pine on the summit of the mountains, to the chinar, or Oriental plane, at their base.

As we proceeded, we discerned from the higher

points of the road a chain of distant snow-capped mountains to the north-east, one of the last branches of the Caucasian range in that direction. Soon afterwards we passed a road striking off to our left, carried over the river by a stone bridge, and leading up a deep valley to a large fortified konack, or dwelling, situated on the shoulder of a scarped mountain, considerably further to the east. This place of strength, now held by a dependent of the Pasha of Trebizond, had formerly been the residence of the Dereh Bey, by whom the surrounding district was governed; but, like the other functionaries of that class, he had forfeited his territorial possessions when the late Sultan commenced his reforms, which, imperatively as they were required, have for a time had the effect of crippling the resources of the Ottoman Empire. The Dereh Beys, indeed, were accused—and perhaps justly—of being the secret chiefs of banditti, who, under their connivance, plundered travellers through their territories, like the old knights of the Rhine, for the benefit of the ruling authority; and there can be no doubt that, if they did not actually maintain these gangs, they were very remiss in punishing their depredations, which, in rude and semi-barbarous communities, are not considered offences of the deepest dye, and were formerly very prevalent in Turkey, particularly on the outskirts of the empire, near Kurdistan and Arabia. Still they were much looked up to by the irregular but warlike militia, which formed the most efficient portion of the Turkish military force; and their deposition, however beneficial on other

grounds, has destroyed the authority round which the population of the provinces were accustomed to rally in times of danger, while the regular commanders appointed in their place, do not inspire the same confidence, and are guilty of as much, or probably more venality, without displaying the martial qualities so highly esteemed in a primitive state of society.

The fortified konack overlooks a village of about twenty houses, called Toufek-kioi; and, from the point where we stood, the general bearing of the valley was East  $20^{\circ}$  North. At two o'clock we crossed to the right bank of the river, which here flowed with great velocity towards the sea, and for some time the road was on an ascent, having a fine view down the valley. The konack was visible for half an hour longer, directly down the valley. Descending a little, a ride of half an hour brought us to a small Greek chapel, standing on a square isolated rock close to the river: it is apparently an ancient structure, and is dedicated to St. Theodore. From this spot, the mountains on the left bank of the river, directly opposite, had a very peculiar appearance, rising in cliffs of schistus, at a very acute angle, and to a great height.

A little further on is the small hamlet of Gheveslik, lying close to the river, in the midst of picturesque mountain scenery, and near the junction of two valleys, each of which is watered by a considerable stream. That to our left had an upward bearing of South  $10^{\circ}$  East, and was crossed by a bridge of two arches, just above its junction with the branch along which we

were to pursue our road on the morrow. Here we passed the night in tents, and in the morning we set out at half-past seven o'clock ; and crossing the bridge which spanned the nearest branch, ascended the right bank of the further one, till a zigzag path led us up a mountain, guarded by a fortified konack, occupying a height on the opposite bank. From a commanding point above we discerned the confluence of the rivers, and the bearings of the valleys were respectively, East  $20^{\circ}$  North, and South  $28^{\circ}$  West. At this spot paths branched out on both sides ; and, notwithstanding the elevation, there were still a great many evergreens around us, while the summits of the mountains were clothed with pines. Just beyond there formerly stood an old fort, of which little more than the foundation now remained, though its situation was good, commanding a view of the fork of the valleys, and the road by which we had ascended. The heights above were mantled with snow. This fort might be advantageously restored.

Soon afterwards we passed a neck of high land attached to the mountains, with valleys to the right and left, forming a very strong pass ; and from the end of this ridge, we observed a high-pointed rock to the left, crowned by the remains of a monastery, well situated for defence, and commanding a view of the country all round. Our route now lay along an old causeway, in the midst of very wild scenery, carrying us past a deep valley to the right, where we discerned the forlorn remains of a khan ; and ascending a rocky bad road,

we came, in about half an hour, to the ruins of another old building, probably a kafaneh, or a guardhouse, standing on a ridge, covered with a variety of well-grown trees, amongst which I noticed some very fine beeches and pines, interspersed with large oleanders and other shrubs. A second ridge, somewhat narrower, extended for about forty yards in an arched form, and, giving forth a hollow sound to the foot, was no doubt artificial.

After a short halt, we resumed our progress, ascending the causeway, which became more and more steep, till, at length, we obtained a view of the sea west of Trebizond, and of part of the intervening valley, bearing North  $35^{\circ}$  East. It was probably from this vicinity that Xenophon and the Ten Thousand, after their wonderful retreat from Persia, first beheld the sea; and the country people still warn strangers not to eat too freely of the honey made by the swarms of bees seen everywhere in this district, as it has a stupifying or intoxicating effect upon persons unaccustomed to it, which explains Xenophon's story of the "madness" caused among his troops from a similar indulgence. The bees feed on the flowers of the yellow azalia, a well-known narcotic, very likely to produce the results alleged by the inhabitants: but the statement of Xenophon must be regarded as an exaggeration not unnatural in those remote times.

Continuing our way for another half hour, we came to an old khan, and some other ruins, where we made a short halt, to muster our energies for climbing the

remainder of the ascent, which was extremely abrupt. This toilsome stage occupied us nearly an hour, when we reached the summit of the Koresh-Dagh, and here we found, for the first time, a good deal of snow, mantling the very narrow ridge at which we crossed. We discovered also the remains of a battery and trench, thrown across the road, as we learnt from the Turks, when the Russians advanced from Erzeroum, in 1829, forming some defence of the pass. A little to the left rose a lofty peak, whence we obtained a fine view towards the sea, with the Caucasian chain in the distance, probably in the neighbourhood of the Mingrelian coast. Our road lay along the summit of the ridge, and was frequently interrupted by broad, deep furrows of snow, which we had to traverse, causing great inconvenience and delay, as the baggage animals sank repeatedly, and the others plunged and floundered about, not a few throwing their riders. Just as we began to descend, by a very narrow path along the face of an earthy mountain, with a rapid torrent running on our left at a considerable depth below, a heavy thunderstorm burst overhead, imparting a new feature to the scene. This was, indeed, of the wildest description. High above on our right and left rose steep cliffs and mountains, of a ferruginous schisty appearance, terminating in peaks now mantled in gloom, while a precipice yawned at our feet. As we rode along, one of our party fell over, and was precipitated with his horse into the river, but escaped unhurt, with the loss of his cap; and we pursued our descent without fur-



their interruption, crossing the torrent by a bad and very narrow wooden bridge, and following the left bank for some distance, when we turned off to the village of Stavros, where we were to pass the night.

Stavros is a miserable place; and two villages adjacent, on the opposite side of the river, are of a similar character, all being inhabited by herdsmen, who, at the moment we arrived, were driving in their cattle and sheep from the pastures. There are about a hundred houses in Stavros; but they are of small size, and are constructed with flat roofs, after the custom of the country.

From this village our direction lay nearly west, and was within a short distance twice crossed by a deep stream, which soon afterwards emptied itself into a more considerable river, called the Yaghli Dereh Soo, at a point where its course ran due north, and just before its junction with the stream we had descended on the previous evening. The river was spanned by a bridge, which led us into a contracted valley, flanked on both sides by precipices of grey sandy schistus, and we followed a very narrow path, running nearly west, to a small tributary stream, which we had to cross several times. Before us rose a lofty central peak, the highest of a snow-capped range, bearing West 20° South; and our path quickly becoming steeper, brought us at length, to the summit of a ridge, whence a very abrupt zigzag track descended to the town of Ghumesh Khaneh, which we could see lying at the foot of an opposite mountain.

The descent from the ridge was both arduous and difficult, and occupied us nearly three hours, when we reached the banks of the Teriboli Soo, a fine river, running in a westerly direction, and proceeding over a good bridge, we rode on to Ghumesh Khaneh. The town derives its name from the silver ore found in the vicinity; and in our way we passed some places for smelting metal; but the mines, which are about a mile from the town, are said to be much neglected; and operations are frequently interrupted by what is called "bitter," or salt water, which accumulates in the excavations. The miners are chiefly Greeks; and the town seems to contain a mixed population of Greeks, Turks, and Armenians. The road, all the way, is exceedingly precipitous, and only practicable by a path, which is kept in good order, but might readily be destroyed by a handful of expert workmen in a few hours. It is said to be the easiest of three routes leading from the interior by Ghumesh Khaneh to Trebizond; though I should think the lower road, by Ardessi Boghas, is in general the most practicable. There is a good road from this spot to Kara Hissar, a distance of about twenty-four hours; and a direct road across the mountain leads to Zileh, said to be nine hours' distant. But though the whole country is extremely difficult, and admirably adapted for defence, there were, with the exception of the small works on the summit of the Koresh Dag, nowhere any traces of artificial defences having been raised to withstand the advance of the Russians, if they had pushed on, as might have been expected, for Trebi-

zond, at the time they occupied Erzeroum. It appears, indeed, that in the campaign under Paskiewitsch, a Russian force of five thousand men, with four pieces of cannon, actually advanced as far as Ghumesh Khaneh, and remained there for ten days. The road from this town to Erzeroum was reported to be practicable for carriages; but thence to Trebizond, it is, as we have seen, inaccessible in this respect; and, indeed, the one we had traversed is shut during the winter months, from December to April, though there is a route open for horsemen by Ardessi Boghas.

At Ghumesh Khaneh, we took up our quarters in a very respectable house, the landlord of which was an intelligent Greek, well acquainted with the locality and its inhabitants. He told us the Turkish authorities had all left the place on the advance of the Russians, who, however, during their occupation, respected the property of both Christians and Moslems, and did little damage. This, no doubt, was with the view of conciliating the good-will of the inhabitants. The town is situated in an extensive valley; and due west, at the distance of a few miles, rises an isolated rock of considerable height and magnitude, crowned by an old church, forming a very striking object from Ghumesh Khaneh.

We had now to ascend the main valley along the opposite side of the river, close to its bank, keeping this direction past a hill to the left, of singular form, shutting in the pass, and succeeded by several others. Soon afterwards we opened a valley to the right, bearing east,

and another nearly due south. The country presented the same features, with frequent rocky eminences, interrupting the course of the road for about three miles, when a fine stone bridge of two arches again carried it over the river, near its junction with another stream; and from hence it became less rugged. A precipitous rock, called Khaghaz Kallassi, near Tourkal, a village on the right bank of the river, is surmounted by the ruins of an ancient castle, and the height is occasionally faced by arches, which appear to have supported the approaches to the fastness. Close by is a small coffee-shop, where we made a brief halt, and obtained some bread; and then, to avoid being overtaken by night, proceeded at a quickened pace up a rocky ascent, with occasional patches of good road, till the valley gradually contracted, and the river became an insignificant stream, stealing almost unseen through grassy banks. Soon we passed its source, and attained the highest point of land, looking down on a fine country, interspersed with heights and sloping downs, the former exposing here and there the stratification of the rocks, twisted in a very peculiar manner. The soil appeared to be very rich; but from the greater severity of the season at this elevation, vegetation was not so forward as in the neighbourhood of the sea-coast; and in our way from Trebizond we had passed localities where the trees presented no more traces of foliage than if it were the middle of December.

A small river to our right, winding to the eastward, was the first indication that we were descending, and

the road was soon met by a brook, running into the river, which itself met us below, at the forlorn village of Ballahora, situated on its banks. The beautiful country around, endowed with so many advantages and capabilities, is both uncultivated and unpeopled, awakening the most melancholy reflections in the mind of the spectator, who beholds here the calamitous results of misrule and neglect.

At Ballahora we passed the night at what, in the western parts of Turkey, would be called the *oda*,\* which here was nothing but a large stable, with a raised platform in one corner for the guests, whose horses reposed in the other part of the chamber. The building, however, was furnished with a chimney, and in a short time, a large fire, rendered highly necessary by the increasing coldness of the atmosphere, was blazing on the hearth.

Leaving Ballahora at an early hour in the morning, we pursued our way, over a recently-erected bridge of two arches, to the right bank of the river, and entered a country of open downs, quite bare of trees for a considerable distance, when, crossing another brook, we arrived at Akockis, a village of about twenty houses. Here a road branches off to the south, joining the great highway between Erzeroum and Constantinople; while the road we were to follow was continued by a bridge over a brook, running north. The country was still a succession of downs, though, as we advanced, it became more hilly and stony, and at

\* House for travellers.

Akoekis, the mountains to the eastward were still capped with snow.

By noon we reached Baiboot, situated on the Chorok, a very important river, running rapidly below a steep precipitous rock, surmounted by an ancient castle of great extent, but in a very dilapidated condition. The river runs through the town, dividing the Turkish from the Armenian quarter, and communication is maintained by two wooden bridges. The buildings, for the first time since Stavros, are of a good freestone, but the town is a dismal straggling place, presenting a very different appearance from the snug-looking country towns in Asia Minor, where every traveller is struck with the picturesque and sheltered aspect of the reddish-brown roofed houses, mantled with vines, and standing in the midst of gardens, while shady balconies, half masked by groves of cypresses and other evergreens, offer a grateful refuge from the heat of summer. Such a decided change in the appearance of the villages is probably owing partly to the cold high situation, and partly to the proximity of Persia, where the style of building is totally distinct from that prevalent in Turkey.

The river Chorok, which, after a course of about one hundred miles, enters the Black Sea near Batoom, runs nearly north at this spot; and the range of the Koresh Dag, which we had just crossed, stretches along its left bank at no great distance. There is now no road to Batoom; but I believe it would be practicable to make a very good one, and, though somewhat circuitous,

this would probably afford the easiest land route to Trebizond from that place. The road we traversed may be considered very defensible, as the country beyond Ballahora is naturally strong. Of the other two roads between Trebizond and Erzeroum, that over Karakapan has an elevation at one place of seven thousand feet above the level of the sea, and is indeed, in general, little more than a narrow rocky path, impassable in heavy storms, and often choked up by snow. On this account it would be unsafe in winter, as regards the passage of troops, though it is considered that two thousand men, with one hundred barrels of powder, would render it practicable at all times. But it should be borne in mind that the journey occupies fifty-two hours for animals carrying two and a half hundred-weight, and that, though the cold in winter is excessive, there are no means of obtaining fuel.

A large sum of money was allowed by the Turkish Government, not many years ago, for the improvement of this route, chiefly with a view to facilitate the passage of caravans with goods to and from Persia, but owing to the misappropriation of the funds by the governor of Trebizond, who was intrusted with its execution, it was, like many other works projected in that empire, never carried out, except for a few miles near the town. It has, indeed, been doubted whether the improvement of this line of road would be advantageous to Turkey in a military point of view, since it would afford equal facilities to Russia in the event of her advancing further

into the country ; and in case of such an improvement, it is very certain that the passes ought to be fortified as quickly as possible, in the same manner as those on similar improved routes between the German and Italian possessions of Austria, in order to retard, if not altogether to stop, an enemy endeavouring to force his way forward.

The use to Turkey of such a route would be to throw reinforcements and military stores into Erzeroum from the Black Sea, particularly if the Batoom road should become unavailable from the occupation of the pashalik of Kars by Russia—an event unfortunately of too great probability. There are cross roads of little difficulty, which reach the great Erzeroum road from Asia Minor into Persia, leaving that of Trebizond near Ghumish Khaneh and Ballahora, in a southerly direction, and through these a force might reach the great thoroughfare even after Erzeroum had been occupied by a hostile army. Neither the western road from Baiboot by Ashkaleh, which I followed, nor that more to the east by Khosha-poonar, is barred by any mountain range of great difficulty, although the latter, being the most elevated, is often rendered impassable by snow-storms in winter. It is known that there is a route which, leaving Baiboot, proceeds nearly parallel to the great Erzeroum road during a portion of its course, and leads through Ispeer and Tortoom towards Kars and the Russian frontier, and there is also a road from Ispeer to Rhiza on the Black Sea. These routes are, however, so difficult in their present state, as not to be important



in a military point of view, although it is advisable that they should be properly watched. From Tortoom there is a tolerable road to Erzeroum.

The route by Baiboot can be trusted at all seasons, as the difficulties are confined to a distance of six hours, between Zingana and Ghumesh Khaneh; and at the former place there is abundance of good fuel, as well as timber for bridges, carriages, and sledges. On the march it might be necessary to transport the guns on mountain carriages, or occasionally to place them, dismounted, between logs of wood, so that they might be dragged by main force over portions of narrow path, particularly if encumbered with mud or snow in unfavourable weather. The draught animals might be assisted at the worst ascents by bullocks, which could be procured from the neighbouring villages; and, in fact, as there is pasturage at the foot of every hill, they could be kept in readiness at certain spots to await the arrival of artillery. The ground generally being hard and stony, horses should be provided with the broad, light, cold-hammered shoe of the country, as the English shoe does not sufficiently protect the tender part of the sole; and on such a road, lameness cannot be too much guarded against. Before guns leave Trebizond the line of the River Chorok should be secured by light troops, who should also occupy Batoom, where the river enters the Black Sea, and Ghumesh Khaneh, as well as the villages on the route, where the peasantry, who are armed, would assist for their rations. Hospitals, well supplied with remedies for intermittent fevers and

agues, should be provided, and, in winter, very warm clothing would be indispensable.

From Baiboot an excellent road led up the valley along the right bank of the Chorok, between hills of some elevation, and over grassy pasture lands, till it crossed the river by a wooden bridge, the pastures on the south being terminated by mountains capped with snow. Soon afterwards the valleys separated, one running to the south-east, while the other, traversed by the Chorok river, bore nearly east. Our direction was towards the south-east, and was twice intersected by a stream running to the north, and by which, after going through a pass, we were met a third time, at a spot where the face of the rocks exhibited some curiously-twisted strata. Riding on for more than an hour, the stream was again crossed, and then we came to a small village, called, as near as I could collect the sound, Kopa. It was situated on the stream, which was very rapid, and was commanded, at a very short distance, by hills of shingly conglomerate. The road crossed the mountains at a considerable elevation, overlooking a very picturesque valley, watered by a brook; and, as we ascended, we came upon some patches of snow, which covered the ground at the summit; a narrow ridge, whence there was a steep descent, past two brooks, to Tinchuk. This was a wretched village, composed of small houses, with roofs formed in an obtuse angle, probably to resist the heavier snow, as the roofs in the neighbourhood are almost invariably flat. The mosque was a plain square structure without any minaret.

The country, as far as the eye could extend, now presented an appearance altogether pastoral. Green hills, streaked with snow near their summits, enclosed valleys threaded by copious streams, whose waters, flowing between picturesque and overhanging rocks, were continually augmented by the melting snow. The inhabitants are a simple people, and live in a state of primitive rudeness, tending their flocks and herds, which constitute their only wealth, and share the same roof with themselves. Wood is very scarce; and the walls of the houses are frequently nearly covered with the earth dug out for the foundations. The road we traversed, though unmade, was everywhere excellent, and only one or two spots in the mountains, which were covered with snow, occasioned any difficulty. The country people here supplied us with good horses, including two fine mares, followed by their foals, and which their owners attended on foot, to bring back from the next stage.

The next day we entered a hilly plain, skirted to the south by a long horizontal range of snow-capped mountains. This was the valley of the Euphrates, a branch of which we crossed near Ashkaleh, a poor village with a mosque; and two other streams were crossed before we reached the main channel of the Karasoo, or Western Euphrates, whence good roads lead over a fine plain to Alaja. This village, which is about half-way between Ashkaleh and Erzeroum, contains a bath and a warm fountain, the latter having a salt bitter taste, and rising to a temperature of 100°

Fahrenheit. The approach to Erzeroum was over a flat open plain, bounded in the distance by mountains, still retaining patches of snow; and owing to the elevation of the ground, here about 5600 feet above the sea, vegetation, for the season of the year, was extremely backward.

Erzeroum is visible for several hours before it is reached. It lies at the base of some high mountains, terminating the hard and parched plain; and travellers suffer equally from the reflected sunshine and the cold winds which descend from the heights. The city, though surrounded with walls, built in the Turkish style (one taken from the Byzantine), cannot be considered a place of strength, if attacked by an army whose siege arrangements are organized on the European principle. It is overlooked by heights, surmounted by a castle of some extent. It suffered much during the Russian occupation, and a great portion of the Armenian inhabitants were induced to accompany Count Paskiewitsch across the frontier, for the purpose of settling in the Russian territory. It has been stated, indeed, that they were taken by force both from here and from the Persian frontier, but I have never been able to ascertain clearly that this was the case; and, though aware of the anxiety of Russia to increase the Christian population in her provinces of the Caucasus, am more inclined to believe that they were induced by specious promises to emigrate. There is little doubt, however, that they are generally by no means satisfied with the change;

which is, in great measure, owing to those promises not having been fulfilled.

The houses of Erzeroum, according to the prevailing fashion of the country, are flat-roofed, and were, at this season, covered with grass. The heavy weight of snow in winter makes it indispensable that they should be solidly constructed; and they are, therefore, first laid with strong beams, and then boarded across, when a deep layer of earth completes the structure. It is not unusual, when the situation is easy of access, to see sheep and goats grazing on the tops of the houses in summer; and sometimes, when the houses are placed against the side of a hill, even cows.

The castle, which is built in the manner usual in this part of the East, comprises an outer enclosure, formed by a rampart of rude bastions and curtains of masonry, and an inner one, of similar construction, rising higher, but not backed with earth. The usual stairs exist, running up the interior of the walls, constructed in the same manner as the passages called ramps in modern fortifications, but with the difference of their having steps, with a space above of seven feet broad, for troops to stand on, behind the thin stone embrasures of the parapet. Most of the cannon, 500 pieces, were removed by the Russians in 1829; but a few old pieces of brass ordnance, chiefly long, and of small calibre, remained on the walls, together with two large brass guns lying dismounted, which are said to have been brought here by Sultan Mourad. They are 12 feet long, carrying a ball of about 36 lbs., and are

of good material, and well cast, but considerably damaged. Another piece, of much larger calibre, for projecting stone balls, lies in a worse condition beside them.

The buildings within the walls of the castle have been entirely destroyed, but beneath, several subterraneous chambers are still entire. One, a kind of dungeon, covered with a grated trap door, was reported to have been a place of execution, but was most probably merely a prison.

Among the lions of Ezeroum are two minarets built in the Persian style, coated over with glazed brick of various colours, and standing near a structure approximating in its architecture to the florid Gothic style. The purpose for which this building was erected, as well as its origin, is unknown, and we heard it attributed by some to the Persians, and by others to the Genoese. It resembles most the Saracenic architecture. There is a double-headed eagle carved on the right side of the entry, surmounting a large plume of peacock's feathers, springing apparently from a crescent, from which also issue two serpents. This is a symbol I do not recollect having seen anywhere else. From the crescent it might be thought a Mussulman device; and I have seen the eagle on some of the Sultan's barges at Constantinople, although I never remarked its being used before in any other way in the Ottoman empire.

The interior of the building has somewhat the form of a cross, with its front to the north, and resembles the Saxon-Gothic architecture, having short pillars sup-

porting high pointed arches, of which there are two rows, one above the other. It is called the arsenal, in consequence of the only part which has the roof entire, serving as a repository for a few old arms, together with several hundred ancient steel skull-caps, or helmets, said to have been lying there ever since the time of the Tartars. and which resemble in form those still worn by the Circassians, and other mountain tribes of the Caucasus.\*

At the south end of this building is one much smaller, and of great beauty. Its form without is round, and the inner part of the roof is in the shape of a cone. The body of the building, however, in the interior, is polygonal, and each face forms a lofty arch, very richly sculptured in the same style as the gateway. The whole of the interior, as well as the gateway, is of a fine alabaster, said to be from Moush, and a beautiful gate of the same material was removed from the building by the Russians after their last campaign. The fabric, which swarmed with pigeons and their nests, is falling rapidly to decay, but might be very easily restored. It was, no doubt, the mausoleum of some distinguished personage; and descending by a ladder through the centre of the floor, we entered what appeared to be the place of sepulture, an arched chamber, built of a fine limestone, and looking quite fresh. It had four niches in the sides, giving it the form of a cross. That towards the north had a second chamber within, the partition wall of which had been but

\* Also by some Koordish tribes.

recently removed, and the earth of the floor disturbed ; and in one of the four niches without we observed human bones, in such a quantity as to indicate that as many as ten or twelve bodies had been deposited in the chamber.

Further to the west, and nearer the walls of the town, is another ancient building of great extent, and which may have been a palace or castle, or possibly a medrasséh or college. Solid stone walls with round towers attest its ancient importance, but it is unroofed and ruinous. A building somewhat resembling the mausoleum stands close by, its walls blazoned with the double eagle before described, surmounting the Persian lion and sun : there are also several inscriptions. Contiguous to the arsenal is an old mosque, which is worthy of a visit, as the interior, with its massive central pillar, has a curious appearance. One of the gates of the town is ornamented by a bas-relief, indifferently executed, representing a man on horseback and another on foot, with a short Greek inscription, nearly effaced, and apparently adverting to the building of the gate.

Determining to visit Kars, I set out with a single companion, and as we had only one servant each, and no great quantity of baggage, we determined to trust to the post, and left Ezeroum well mounted, after a few days' repose, furnished with letters from the Pasha for many of the minor governors whose districts we expected to visit.

It was my intention, on leaving Kars, to cross the chain of mountains which extends to the west of Mount



Ararat, and to gain the great valley traversed by the Persian road, somewhere about Byazeed. The track is not a common one, and passes through a country almost entirely Koordish; but I was assured that the risk of being plundered was at that time not great, and that the different governors would supply me with escorts at the most dangerous places. We had some thoughts, on our way, of visiting the source of the Western Euphrates, but were dissuaded from the enterprise by our guides, who urged that, as it lay at some hours' distance to the north of the road, it would occupy more time than we could spare.

After crossing various streams and rivers, we arrived, towards evening, at Hassan Kalleh, situated immediately at the base of a mountain, which extends into the plain in a precipitous, rocky spur, crowned by the castle, whence the place derives its name. The town, which probably contains 300 houses, is surrounded by the usual wall, and this we observed to be double near the gate at which we entered; but, although it bears the marks of having been partially repaired at a recent period, it is, on the whole, in a very dilapidated state. On inspection, we found the walls of the castle, on the height above, were also double, and crenellated in the usual style, but appear to have been built at various dates, in a very indifferent manner. The whole is much dilapidated, and the various buildings which once occupied the interior have been razed to the ground, while the cannon forming its armament, for which stone platforms still exist, has been carried off by the

Russians. A kiosk, now destroyed, had overlooked the plain from the south-east angle of the fortress; and near this point are the remains of a singular stair and gateway, leading down the rock, while a large aperture like a window, in the walls above, seems to denote that a habitation of some size had once stood here for the accommodation of the commander of the garrison. Immediately to the south is a ruinous bridge across the stream, close to which are two hot springs, where there are baths; and the range of hills to the right, forming a continuation of those south of Ezeroum, are composed of volcanic rock.

We had crossed several branches, or counterforts, from this ridge in our way over the plain, the last being connected with a low chain from the Caucasus, dividing the valley of the Euphrates from the broad and extensive plain on which we now stood. The same total dearth of wood prevailed all around; and while the mountains were still streaked with snow, we had no fuel but dried cow-dung, which, as in almost all the unwooded parts of the East, is the only substitute, and is certainly the very worst that the inhabitants of any country are driven to the necessity of employing.

The inner enclosure of the castle contains a curious polished stone, of the porphyritic trachite of the country, deeply and firmly fixed in the ground. It is upwards of four feet in length, by two in breadth and three in height, and is perforated through the base by an aperture of about a foot square, having a projection of about the same diameter above, and about four inches in height,

and one at each end. The natives affirm that it occupied the same spot before the Mahometan conquest, but can give no other explanation of it. It struck me that it might possibly have been an altar of the ancient Ghebers, or Fire-worshippers.

## CHAPTER IX.

PERSIAN CARAVANSERAIS — KORASSAN — FORDING THE RIVER —  
PASS OF BARDUZE — STRONG POSITION — KARS — KOORDISH HORSE-  
MEN — TURKISH CUPIDITY — ARMENIAN VILLAGE — ANI AND ITS  
RUINS.

NEXT morning we set out at half-past six with fresh horses, and rode round the base of the mountain to the north. After several ascents and descents, during which we crossed a river and several minor streams descending from the mountain, and continued our course till near the village of Keopry-Kioi, we passed a large but ruinous caravanserai. This was the first of those buildings we had seen as they exist in Persia; and though so dilapidated, it was calculated to create a very favourable idea of the accommodation afforded to travellers in such establishments; at least as far as regards room, and the certainty of obtaining food and shelter. Six round towers connecting five arched ranges, which supported vaults of twenty-five feet in height, were still standing, the whole composed of fine solid blocks. Caravanserais are to be found in every part of the Persian dominions; and even on the other side of Bagdad, towards Babylon. I afterwards, when travelling, usually passed the night

in these acceptable refuges. They appear to have been constructed principally in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; although some, more or less ruinous, are of a much older date; and on the other hand, many have been built within the memory of man. The Persians believe all the more ancient ones to have been erected in the reign of Shah Abbas the Great, and there is no doubt that many of the finest, particularly in the neighbourhood of Ispahan, are really the work of that magnificent monarch. A large number will accommodate upwards of a thousand people, with a proportionate number of animals, and are quite defensible, and generally copiously supplied with water within their gates.

A fine bridge of seven arches crossing at the confluence of two rivers, one of which is the principal branch of the Aras-chai or Araxes, carries the road through Byazeed into Persia. We kept on the left bank, and continued descending the river, having rocky cliffs of a hard red sandstone close to our left, which at one place fell in a regular slope of naturally-broken stone, resembling a Macadamized road. The bridge and caravanseraï seem to have been formed of this rock.

Korassan, a poor Koordish village, with a wooden mosque and minaret, is situated about half a mile from the Aras. The journey to this place was chiefly over the plain, on the left bank of the Araxes, and which has every appearance of having been covered with water at no very remote geological date.

The soil seemed, on the whole, to be sterile, for though, as a great variety of flowers covered its surface,

it presented a good deal of verdure, there was as yet but little grass. We passed many flocks of sheep, of the large-tailed breed, which are common all through Asia, except in the most northerly and coldest parts. As may be supposed, the inhabitants, a primitive people, live much upon milk and its various preparations. This day the thermometer ranged comparatively high, standing in the shade, in the middle of the day, at 78° Fahr., for the warm season had fairly begun even in this elevated region. The river, as the country-people informed us, is fordable here when not unusually swollen. At this time, indeed, it was considerably flooded, but it was still considered safe to make the buffaloes swim across it, and drag the waggons, when light, behind them.

The dependents of the post establishment and proprietors of horses here, began to show reluctance to accompany us without additional horsemen as a guard; and those we secured manifested all the following day considerable dread of a Koordish attack, but none occurred. At Korassan they were desirous of increasing their force with some armed horsemen, but were unsuccessful in this object. In all this vicinity oxen and even cows are much used as beasts of burden, and we frequently saw persons riding upon them at a brisk pace.

Having descended into a valley, we proceeded up the rocky bank of a stream, which runs, deep and rapid, in an east-south-easterly course towards the Araxes; and after crossing it several times, as it wound hither and

thither in our road, reached the village of Kara-Oglan, a few miserable huts, situated below a high rock where trees, brought from the woody mountains to the north, were sawing up. Here our people, with the aid of some communication from the principal man at Korasan, procured an accession of force; but the party seemed mortally afraid for the remainder of the day, and appeared to think no *détour* too great to avoid the suspected parts of the road.

A short distance from Kara-Oglan, we passed to the right the ruins of what looked like a Cyclopean structure, of a square form, hanging over a precipice, and probably the foundation of a rude tower which had fallen down. Further on, a solitary castle, called by our guides Kara-Oglan Kallesi, was seen to the right of a stony track of *mçor*, looking like a Highland deer forest. Kara-Oglan, which signifies literally "the black boy," was probably the popular name of some Koordish freebooter. A quarter of an hour's ascent from the stream reaches the summit of the pass, which is 100 yards broad, and presents a splendid scene on all sides.

To the southward was the country we had left, extending over our journey of several days to the mountainous range, stretching eastward from Erzeroum. On the north the road descended suddenly into a deep valley of great extent, leading into another still more capacious, nearly at right angles with it. The first valley, which was carpeted with verdure, afforded rich pasturage, and was studded with pine timber, climbing

to the summit of the mountains beyond, where patches of snow still rested. The great valley below us to the north-west seemed equally green and luxuriant, and was intersected by a river, apparently of considerable size, while steep hills, rising probably 2000 feet at once, appeared beyond, their summits crowned with basaltic columns.

Hence we descended to the village of Barduze, to the right of which is a pass, where the Turks long arrested the advance of the Russians in 1829.\* The town is situated close to a river, and contains many comfortable dwellings; but we were not received at first with any great appearance of hospitality, and the keys of two different houses, to which the chief of the village conducted us, were not for some time forthcoming, the occupants having, in apprehension of what might happen, quitted them, until they should know that we were settled for the night. During our progress through this tract, and very often afterwards while in the East, it occurred to me how effectually Martello towers, placed in the passes, would contribute to defence, and might preserve communication with larger places of strength in the plains; for as the cold and snow last a long time in both these situations, it is necessary to be prepared for an isolated state of the garrison. In the plains, large magazines of forage for the cavalry horses and other animals ought to enter into the plan in such localities.

Leaving Barduze, and descending a rocky bank, we

\* The mountainous pass of the Soganlu Dagh.



immediately crossed to the right bank of the river by a short wooden bridge. This is a very strong position on both sides of the river, but especially on the Turkish, where a series of works in the direction of the pass would effectually command the road.\* A good road which we ascended (used by the arabas or waggons of the country) led us to the summit of the ridge, past the granite rocks, and a dry watercourse to the left, and on the right a pretty valley, with rocky heights covered with wood rising beyond. A round-shaped valley, of small extent, was succeeded by a tract of level ground, where we observed there had been a peculiar and very general descent of loose fragments on the side of the mountain, resembling an avalanche, and the whole verge of the ascent was covered with basaltic fragments. Beneath flowed the Barduzc river, in a deep valley, where it is crossed by a ford, while a road conducts up the opposite bank. Our course afterwards turned suddenly to the north-north-east, among fine pine trees and pasture lands, which covered the side of the mountain.† The road was strewn with obsidian or volcanic glass, looking like dark cairngorms, and the highest portion of the mountain to our right seemed a perfect mass of this material. The ascent terminated on an extensive flat commanding the vicinity, and having a good road branching off to the south-west. A

\* There was formerly a castle here, built by one of the Sultans.

† The large forests of Soghanlu begin here, and extend southward.

fine grassy valley between mountains, having a distant mountain range to the east, soon opened to us, and at its mouth we turned along the heights to the left. Passing a tract, watered by streams and abounding with villages, we came, at six o'clock, in view of the town of Kars, at no great distance, bearing east-north-east, and having on our right an extensive plain, backed by mountains. We were met at the gate by the agent of the Consul of Erzeroum, a young Greek, who conducted us to the house of a Turk of some consequence, where we took up our abode; and were, as usual, worse lodged than we should have been in the house of a Rayah. This was the more provoking, as the weather had become bad, and we were wet on our arrival. Kars stands at a higher elevation than Erzeroum, water boiling at  $200^{\circ}$  Fahr,\* with the same thermometer which at Erzeroum had indicated  $202^{\circ}$  as the boiling-point. Communication is maintained between the two banks of the river by a couple of bridges.

The next day proving fine, we visited the Kaimakam, or deputy of the Pasha we had seen at Erzeroum, to whom the latter had given us an introduction. The sciai, or residence, where we found him, is situated in the castle, which commands the town as well as a fine view of the adjacent country. He of course gave us a very good reception, and promised to make arrangements for our visiting agreeably the neighbouring

\* Six thousand feet is believed to be nearly the elevation of Kars above the sea.

ruins of Ani, the Armenian capital. He conducted us to the roof of the highest part of the house to show us the neighbourhood, on our expressing a wish to view it, and said he would take care that we should have an opportunity of examining whatever we desired to see without being interrupted. We accordingly walked through the town, and crossed to the other side of the river, ascending an elevated height on its left bank, whence we could view the castle and the country round it. The town of Kars was formerly occupied by a population in great measure Armenian; but as the emigration from this place into the Russian empire was more general than from any other locality, many of the houses are now in ruins, or at least, unoccupied, and this gives the town a very desolate appearance; the town-walls, castle, and all the mosques and churches, looking the picture of decay.

While we were with the Kaimakam we saw in the court below a party of Koordish horsemen, habited in showy and somewhat fantastic garments, in the Mama-luke style. They were very well mounted and completely armed, carrying, in addition to other weapons, lances of about twelve feet in length, with a bunch of black horse-hair near the point. Their appearance accounted somewhat for the panic of our late guides; and, picturesque as they looked, a small party of travellers would by no means have been pleased to meet them in a secluded spot.

On the second morning we set out for Ani, accompanied by a Kavass of the Pasha, and on quitting the

gate of the town, were joined by a showy-looking horseman, who turned out to be Demetri, the Consul's agent. He had exchanged his black turban, and other distinctive marks of a Rayah, which he wore in town, for a smart-looking suit and turban of the Kcordish cut, with a Damascus silk sash round his waist, in which were stuck, instead of the brass inkstand which he had worn the day before, a pair of silver-mounted pistols and a yataghan. He rode very well, and was certainly the best mounted of the party.

Proceeding over the plain in a direction east-half-south, we passed many of the country arebas, conveying large logs of timber towards the Russian frontier town of Goomri. We had heard something of military works being erected in that neighbourhood, but hardly expected to find that materials for their construction were collected within the Turkish territory. The information we gleaned from the Pasha's Kavass left no doubt on our minds that such was the case. He said that from fifty to one hundred waggon-loads were transported to Goomri daily, and were paid for by the Russian authorities at about ten shillings a tree, under a contract which they expected to last some years. In addition to the trees, wheels and other parts of carriages, all made after one pattern, were constantly forwarded to the same place, in large quantities, and all the arrangements were under the superintendence of an agent from the Russian frontier.

Passing occasional heights, we reached the village of Hadgi-Veli-Kioi, consisting of twenty or thirty Arne-

nian houses, with flat roofs, and nearly buried in the ground, where we were to take up our quarters for the night. The Bey of the place came out to receive us, and showed us into an apartment, far better than we could have anticipated from external appearances. There is a ruined castle in the village.

On the morning after our arrival at Kars, the thermometer had been only 63° in the shade, but the temperature again became high; and we found the advantage of having the dwellings constructed in the prevailing mode, which protects the inhabitants from the heat of summer, as well as from the cold of their long and severe winter. Goomri was visible from this spot, a distance of about sixteen miles.

The road this day had led over extensive plains, bounded by two tributary branches of the Araxes in one direction, and by mountains in the other. It is generally on basaltic rock lying very near the surface, and is consequently stony; there is, however, plenty of grass, and quantities of small flowers, but the whole country is destitute of wood.

From some neighbouring heights we saw, for the first time, the distant summit of Mount Ararat, rising like a white cloud above the adjacent green hills. Some way to its left was a high mountain of the second class, with sloping sides, called Allaya-Dagh. A low conical mountain appeared between them, which, we were told, lay in the direction of Etchmiazin, and below was a peculiar volcanic-looking peak, resembling many in our immediate vicinity.

We left Hadgi-Veli-Kioi early next morning, and proceeded over the plain till about six o'clock, when we came in sight of Ani. Numerous towers and pinacles rising in the distance, gave us a very favourable impression of this singular city, of which no distinct description had at that time been given to the world, and which, indeed, had hardly been mentioned by any European writer, except the talented author of Hajji Baba, who has made it the scene of a more recent work.\*

Ani was the capital of the Pakredian kings of Armenia; Nisibis and Orfat, in Mesopotamia, having been the seats of government of that ancient people under the Arsacidæ. After the destruction of the dynasty of the Arsacidæ in Persia, the Sassanian kings of that empire overturned the Armenian race of the Ascanidæ in the year 428; and their country was divided between the Greeks and Persians.

The Arabian monarchs, after having destroyed the Magi, and established the Mahomedan religion in Persia, again subdivided Armenia in the year 637. Tabreez subsequently became subject to the Caliphs; and about 200 years afterwards, the Pakredian family, which, at the Mahomedan destruction of Jerusalem, had been transported from thence into Armenia, and had been highly distinguished by the Mahomedan governors, were presented in 885 with a tributary crown by the Caliph of Bagdad.

At length the Turkish hordes, bursting forth from

\* The romance of Aysha, or, The Maid of Kars.

Central Asia, invaded Armenia, and the head of the Pakredians bequeathed his kingdom, with Ani its capital, to the Greek emperor, on condition of being defended during his life from foreign invasion. In the year 1046, in accordance with this provision, the Pakredian family (descended according to traditionary belief from King David) were transferred from the throne of Armenia, where they were styled Shahin Shahi, or king of kings, to the government of a few towns in Cappadocia. The destruction of Ani, which was dictated by a spirit of fanatical persecution, was one of the acts which stained the glory of Alp Arslan, who otherwise, if we may credit history, was a generous and humane conqueror, as was evinced in his conduct to the Greek emperor Romanus Diogenes.

After having made arrangements for passing the night in a place whence we had ejected the cattle, we proceeded on foot towards the ruins, crossing a deep rocky ravine resembling one of those fissures so frequent in the Crimea, and other countries bordering upon the Black Sea. About a mile from the village we entered several subterraneous houses, or rather caves, situated without the ancient walls, and in which the miserable inhabitants of the neighbourhood seek refuge from the heats of summer. Many of these retreats are formed on similar sites both in Asia Minor and Persia, and it is highly probable that they were originally constructed for sepulchres.

The situation of Ani is very peculiar and striking. A branch of the Araxes, called by the people of the

country the Arpa-Chaï,\* winds round the south-east side of the city between steep crags, yawning in the green and treeless plain. A row of massive and beautifully-finished towers, with their connecting walls, extends from the river to the ravine before mentioned, which, running down in a south-easterly direction, joins the other valley at an acute angle, intersected by the river. The masonry has, until closely examined, considerable resemblance to the Greek, but the style of architecture, though in the religious edifices partaking of a Byzantine character, and sometimes of the Gothic, was in general in the Asiatic or Saracenic style. The churches and palaces, after a lapse of eight centuries, are still in such a condition as to attest that, at the period of their erection, solidity was as much an object as beauty of design.

The people in the neighbourhood attribute all these structures to the Persian Nushirvan; but the profusion of crosses introduced in the walls of the buildings leave no doubt of their Christian origin. With the exception of one mosque, in a very ruined state, and an octagonal minaret, we could see no Mahomedan building. The towers of the walls, which are most entire on the north side, are of different heights and sizes: and are built of the stone of the neighbourhood, which is of three colours; a buff calcareous sandstone, which is the most general; a red; and a very dark basalt, nearly black. Devices are introduced in these three colours with great taste in the construction of all the buildings.

\* Barley River.



The first gate we reached was flanked with very lofty towers; but the passage was blocked up with fallen fragments, and we entered the town by a gate beyond. The walls are double at this spot, and the entries are not opposite to each other, as is usual in old fortifications in this part of Asia. A lion and inscription are carved upon the wall, and crosses are seen inserted and carved upon the towers and other masonry. The walls, which are 40 or 50 feet high, are built with mortar, but it is only used internally, the outer stone being jammed into it in a point, so that it does not appear.

The first building we observed on passing the gates was a small chapel to the right, in a wonderfully-entire state. The interior, which we examined with great interest, was supported on slender pillars, terminating in beautifully-formed vaults. A little beyond, towards what seemed to be the citadel, we found a fine octagonal minaret, bearing a long Arabic inscription, and ornamented near the top with two sculptures in relief, one representing a lion, the other a head, apparently intended to typify the sun. Ascending to its summit by a stair, a good deal worn, we obtained a fine view of the ruins. The minaret was the last relic of a mosque, and its own foundation was very insecure. A palace with pointed windows, in the Saracenic style, stood close by, much ruined, but bearing witness to ancient grandeur.

The most beautiful building in Ani is a fine church in a very perfect state, the stone roof being still entire; and, indeed, very slight repair would make this build-

ing fit for use. The architecture is in a mixed style, which neither my companion nor myself had ever seen elsewhere, and which might with great justice be denominated the Armenian. The arches are rounded in the same way as the Saxon, and are of great height. The building, like almost every other in Ani, is much covered with Armenian inscriptions: I think in two different characters. We ascended a winding stair near the altar, and reached an arched passage looking down upon the interior, which was at that hour filled with cattle and their keepers, reposing during the heat of the day. Near the precipice above the river are the remains of the fine mosque already mentioned, the only one in Ani.

The town, which is of a triangular shape, is situated on the extreme frontier of Turkey, on a kind of rocky peninsula, defended on the east by steep cliffs, washed by the Araxes, which winds round their base in a deep gorge; and bounded on the west by a broad ravine, which, as well as all the precipices round the city, has its bluff sides perforated with numberless tombs and caverns. The rocky hill which terminates the city towards the south is enclosed between the precipitous ravines, which join immediately beyond it. It may have been a citadel, although little appearance remains of any works of defence. Towards the country it is of great natural strength, especially on the side next the river, which is here too deep to ford. The abutments of a fine bridge still exist, which has been opposite to an entry communicating with the left bank of the Ar-

pachai—now the Russian frontier. On the hill are various other churches and chapels, one or two very perfect, and having the roof and pointed cupola in the centre still standing. The private dwellings in the ancient city seem to have been handsome and substantial, if we may judge from the style of their still existing foundations. On the summit of the precipice next the village stand the ruins of what seems to have been the palace, a very extensive building in the Saracenic style, having a fine imposing arched window over the gateway. This building is composed of massive square blocks, beautifully polished and fitted. It has been built in several storeys, and many apartments remain almost entire. Nearly opposite we observed masonry, apparently erected for the purpose of damming up the brook.

## CHAPTER X.

POSITION—WORKS OF GOOMRI—TURKISH FRONTIER—SALT ROCKS  
—FERRY OF THE ARAS—KHAGASMAN—GELALEE KOORDS—  
ROUTE TO HADGI-BAIRAMLU.

RETURNING to our former quarters, we were tormented all night by fleas, and were glad to escape in the morning soon after six o'clock, when we set out on our way towards Goomri, determined to inspect it as closely as we could without crossing the frontier, which is here bounded by the Arpachai river.

A fine road leads over the plain from Hadji-Veli-Kioi to the village of Arasogloo, whence our course lay across heights, and through several other villages,\* to the Kars branch of the river, which we crossed by a ford deeper than usual, and commanded by some heights branching forward from a longer range towards the west, as well as by the flat ground between it and the village. These heights form the advance of a position, traversed also by the road from Kars to Goomri, which lies in their front, and, though hollow, is commanded. Here we joined the direct road to Goomri, passing between heights, and reached a narrow

\* One of these hamlets, called Meyerek, would be a good situation for forming a reconnaissance to examine Goomri.

elevated flat looking towards the Arpachai. The road now bore north-east by east, the ground in our front sloping in every direction towards the river. About a mile or two in our front some heights terminated in a kind of bluff, surmounted by an old castle looking down on the village of Seraïghul, on the banks of the river; and beyond this the road, here leading over a flat, was very muddy. At a hamlet further on called Païndereh, there is an old castle and a small Armenian church, and opposite is a Russian village, succeeded by heights and streams, till a range rises whence a view may be obtained of the fortifications of Goomri, but not of the town itself, which, though only two miles distant from us, was concealed by the elevated ground on which the works, some yet in progress, are extended. The first, a mass of masonry, rose near the eastern extremity, and appeared to be about 100 yards in length, its front being partially concealed by lofty scaffolding. High-arched timber frames, such as are used in the construction of bridges, and of bomb-proof buildings, occupied the centre; and the whole, as I found on a subsequent visit, formed a horse-shoe work of solid masonry, mounting sixteen guns, which point through embrasures in the casemate. On its right were extensive earthen parapets; and further on in the same direction were others of a similar appearance, on which the workmen were still employed. Piles of squared stones and timber were heaped up in the vicinity of the parapets; and here, as well as along the whole extent of the works, large numbers of men were

busily occupied (as far as I could judge with my glass) in quarrying and other labour. Many carts were moving about, and at the right or western extremity of the heights there was an encampment, capable of containing about 2,000 men, with a considerable number of guns and tumbrils standing near. From these appearances no doubt remained that our surmises had been correct; and being aware that the erection of these works was quite unknown to the English authorities in Turkey, we felt anxious to visit them; but the existence of the quarantine and our want of passports prevented our doing so on this occasion, though I was enabled to carry out that design at a later period, as will be seen further on.

While we were employed on the heights, the Kavass of our Consul at Trebizond, who was one of our party, went on as far as the ford, close to which on the other side were some huts, occupied by a party of Cossacks. With these he attempted to enter into conversation, but they showed the jealousy usually evinced by Russian authorities of every grade at having their proceedings at all examined, recommending him to take his departure; and I have often remarked that the transactions of the Muscovite Government\* are regarded by its subordinates as something sacred, from which it is a crime ever to attempt to withdraw the veil. Goomri may at present be considered the key to the whole plain of Kars, which can at any time be overrun from it.

The ground on the Turkish side of the river rises in

a fine tract of table-land of about the same elevation as the works at Goomri. The situation seems good for a frontier town, but does not possess even a village; and the road to Hassan Kalleh and Erzeroum, though the plain of Kars would furnish supplies to an enemy advancing through the passes, is undefended by any works. Hassan Kalleh, commanding the roads into Turkey, is an eligible point for a fortress.

Driven from the heights by a thunder-storm, accompanied by wind and heavy rain, we took the direct road for Kars, whence we ultimately turned to the south, and reached the village of Oozan-Klissa (signifying in the dialect of the country the "long church"), where we passed the night.

Next morning we made our way over several heights and streams to a ford on the Kars branch of the Aras, at a village called Yamesh-lu, where there is a strong position. The ford, though the river was very full, was good, but commanded on all sides by heights; and from one of these, on the left bank above the ford, a view is obtained of the road towards Kars, while another on the right bank rises to a greater height. The road passed over elevated flats and plains, here and there crossed by streams; and in our progress we overtook numerous arabas with timber for the Russian works, and at one place came up with a couple of Turks conveying a file of Russian deserters, seven or eight in number, and tied by a single cord, to the same destination. We re-entered Kars about 4 P.M., and returned to our old quarters.

At the village of Oozan-Klissa, where we slept, there is a church of an old date, merely consisting of four walls of considerable height, and of very substantial masonry. It is about thirty feet square, and flat-roofed, with a single low door in the south side, which, being locked, we did not enter. No window was visible, but an aperture not much larger than would admit a man's hand appeared over the door, and above it, near the roof, was a larger opening, covered without by a stone slab, projecting at a distance of four or five inches. It struck us that this contrivance was meant to enable those within to let down a bucket, as it is probable that this building was at once a church and a place of retreat in case of danger.

During the whole of this excursion on the fine plain between Kars and Goomri, we were particularly struck by the absence of trees and shrubs of every kind, although the grass was at that moment very fine, and mixed with vast quantities of flowers; and on the mountains not far to the south, timber was abundant, so that the great elevation does not explain its absence on the plains. There was plenty of basaltic rock for the construction of walls, yet not a single fence was to be seen, and the cattle scrambled about wherever they pleased.

The Pasha's Kaimakam promised to have instructions ready in a couple of days for the authorities of the places through which I must pass on my way to Tabreez. I spoke to him very unreservedly as to what was going on at Goomri, observing that the Turkish officials were



assisting the Russians, both with materials and the labour of the country, to erect a fortress which would enable the Czar to command, and at any time to overrun, the whole Pashalic of Kars. He declared I must be mistaken, as the timber I had seen was merely used for the construction of dwelling-houses, bazaars, and caravanserais for the merchants ; but he seemed curious to know what I had actually observed, and having sent for his telescope, asked me if I thought it was powerful enough to enable him to survey the works—a point on which I gave him satisfaction ; when he said he would proceed to the river forthwith, and examine them. I heard afterwards that the Pasha himself was engaged in the contract ; so that his deputy must have been acting with a full cognizance of what was in progress, and I told him that the result must be that, by the time the contract was completed, the mountains would be cleared of the finest timber at the spots where it is most accessible, and Russia would be strengthened by the resources which should be used for the defence of Turkey.\*

On departing from Kars, I rode due south towards Khagasman, a place distant about nine hours, and situated on the Araxes, over a country of alternate precipitous ascents and descents, relieved by small plains, and occasionally presenting a village, till, after traversing a narrow plain, surrounded by heights and

\* Recent events have verified this prediction. Kars is still nearly an open town, while Goomri, since christened Alexandropol, is a strong fortress.

mountains, we crossed a branch of the Aras, and found ourselves on a low gravelly island, washed by the main branch of that river, which was running with great rapidity, and was much too deep to ford. We, therefore, gave the signal to the people of the ferry on the opposite shore to come to our assistance. While waiting their arrival, I observed a large bird soaring with nearly the same flight as an eagle over the river, but it was evidently a crane of a genus which, I think, I very frequently saw afterwards in various parts of Asia. They are birds of passage, and collect in droves of fifty or sixty, flying in a wedge like the wild goose, but at a much more obtuse angle.

The Aras at this part of its course passes through a chasm of great height and breadth, rent in the mountains, and presenting everywhere precipitous earthy cliffs of various colours, yellow and greenish hues predominating. The whole soil is impregnated with salt, and just at this spot it takes the shape of large stratified rocks. Salt mines are wrought in the vicinity.

After a few minutes three stout fellows appeared a short way below, on the opposite bank, and drew up a raft of very novel appearance, consisting of a slight wooden frame, about seven feet broad at one end, and three and a half at the other, and probably ten feet long, with the interstices covered with wicker-work, the whole resting on inflated goat-skins. One of the party took a paddle, and placed himself in front, while the other two sat behind, one using another paddle as a rudder; and, with the assistance of the current, they

crossed the river diagonally with great ease. Our horses were swum across, a ferryman mounting one, and leading over a couple more by the bridles, baffling the current with great expertness; and while we crossed with the baggage on the raft, he returned for the remainder of the horses, which were taken over in the same way. The only delay was in pulling the raft up to the point where it got the advantage of the current; and when we all reached the other side by the second passage of the raft, we found the horses ready, with the baggage fastened upon them.

Proceeding up the heights, we ascended a stony ravine, and soon afterwards reached Khagasman, which, like the towns of Persia, is surrounded by orchards, gardens, and vineyards, presenting a striking contrast to the neighbouring country, which is parched and arid. Here, as we were now to part with the people and horses we had brought from Kars, the Muzzelim, to whom we had been furnished with a letter, represented that it would be very desirable, and indeed was absolutely necessary, to have a day to provide fresh horses and a proper escort. He said there were two roads to Byazeed, one passing near the town of Toprak-Kaleh, distant twelve hours, which again was distant twenty-four hours from Byazeed; the other bearing directly across the mountains through Kooroo-Moosoon, in the country of the Gelalee Koords, the most inveterate robbers in that part of Koordistan, and the terror even of the Pasha of Byazeed, whose country they often ravaged up to the gates of the town. By this road,

however, Byazeed was distant only twenty-four hours ; and as I did not know the state of the case so well then as I did afterwards, I tried to persuade him to send us through by this route, offering to take any number of men he might think necessary to effect the passage. But he said the Gelalee Koords, being in open revolt, would not allow an armed man to enter their country. The Turks, indeed, evinced the greatest disinclination to coming into contact with the Koords, and even regarded the prospect of passing by the other road as anything but agreeable.\*

Finding that we should be detained here a day, I determined to return as far as the salt-mines near the ferry, and in the morning the Muzzelim's kiaya, an old man, who appeared to know something of the locality, gave me what information he possessed, which proved to be tolerably accurate. He called the place Khagasman, by which name I found it was known in the neighbourhood. From him I obtained the following itinerary of the route to Hadgi Bairamlu, the first place beyond the Russian frontier towards Erivan.

Tazek-cheh, a village, half an hour distant from the Araxes, by a bad araba road.

Proceed to Kyrumbat, right bank marking the frontier, where there is a tumulus of stone set up in the Persian time.

To Pernagheet, within the Russian territory, passing

\* I believe I am the first European who has described this road from Kars to Toprak-Kalleh. Koch, the German traveller, followed it some years afterwards.

over a plain by a good road, a post of two or three Cossacks. Pernagheet contains about twenty houses; about an hour to the right are mountains where the Koords come and pitch their tents.

Koolpa, a large village of 150 houses, where there are generally 100 or 200 Cossacks, under a Major, and sometimes infantry, on account of the inroads made into the mountainous parts of the Russian territory by the Koords. Half an hour above, the Araxes is crossed on a raft, near its junction with the Arpachai. Not far up the latter stream is Hadgi Bairamlu, a village of about twenty houses, but without any fort or military establishment. The quarantine is at Eekdar, nine hours from Koolpa, and between the two places is Karakaleh on the right bank of the river.

Kooroo-Moosoon, containing 150 houses, partly Koor-dish and partly Armenian, according to my informant, lies at the foot of the mountain towards Byazeed, and is near Mount Ararat.

## CHAPTER XI.

MOSLEM PROCRASTINATION—KOORDISH CHIEF—NATIVE WARRIOR  
 —ASCENDING THE MOUNTAINS—STATIONARY GUARD—HOSTILE  
 PARTY—PREPARATIONS FOR ACTION—KOORDISH CHALLENGE—  
 SNOW-DRIFT—THUNDER-STORM—TOPEAK KALLEH—VISIT TO  
 THE GOVERNOR—PERSIAN CARAVANS.

HAVING visited the salt-quarry, I retraced my steps to Khagasman, and on the following morning at half-past four, the Turk who was to command our escort, and who held some post under the Muzzellia, made his appearance, having the evening before announced that everything would be ready at this hour. He was a grave-looking man of about fifty, with a large bushy beard, and when in his Turkish dress had a very respectable appearance; but he had now exchanged it for a sort of mixed costume of the new régime, which is styled, in places removed from the capital, *à la Franga*. It consisted of a short, dark-green jacket with metal buttons, and trousers of the same, over which were pulled short red boots, very wide, and turned up at the toe, and a small turban completed his costume. His clothes appeared so stuffed out that it was evident he wore his usual dress below, which had a very ludicrous effect. He merely came to see whether we were

ready, for his own followers were not so; and he was not only unarmed, but had his pipe in hand, which I thought a little ominous of delay, although he assured us the horses were coming immediately. We waited, however, till five o'clock without their appearing, when a remonstrance was made to the Muzzelim, who, as usual, entreated us to have patience; and notwithstanding repeated renewals of our demand, only half the number of horses required for the party had arrived at half-past six, with three horsemen for our escort. But I insisted on the full number which the Kaimakam at Kars had ordered, as a less force would only have invited the attacks of the Koords, and I soon found they had themselves no intention of setting out with so small a party, but meant to wait till others should be collected. The Muzzelim, indeed, on my threatening to return to Kars, and to complain of his conduct, admitted that to proceed with this escort would be as dangerous as going alone, but added that the place could not furnish a larger number of horsemen; though if I would consent to advance at a slow pace, he would furnish me with any number of men on foot, who, he said, would act better in the mountains than horsemen. Accordingly a dozen of Tofengees, or musketeers, were sent for, and I waited at the Muzzelim's house till they arrived. In the same room was an old Koordish chief, who had some time before submitted, and was now under the charge of a Kavass, by whom he was to be conducted to the Pasha of Erzeroum. He appeared to take the matter with the

utmost coolness, and his countenance expressed perfect cheerfulness and good humour. His long dress was much in the Turkish style, but his turban, as usual among the Koords, was wound round a red fez or cap, shaped like a bag, and falling down behind. Many of the younger men here wore Persian turbans, which are much higher and not so broad as those of the Turks, and the red fez was superseded by a drab-coloured felt cap, such as is worn, without any turban, by the country-people in the south of Persia.

While we were waiting, one of the mounted men who were to accompany us came into the room. He was a very warrior-like person, and rode a handsome active horse, and indeed was the only one of those intended to accompany us who seemed fit for the purpose. In remonstrating with the Muzzelim, I said, if you can give me three other fellows like this man, I will dispense with all the rest; an observation he had overheard, and which was not lost upon him, as he certainly distinguished himself very much on the journey by his vigilance and activity. At the moment, indeed, he began, like a true Oriental, to express his contempt for the Koords, declaring he was a match for at least twenty of them, when a young man of about eighteen, who had hitherto sat without speaking, got up in a very angry way, and denied the fact with great warmth of manner and much gesticulation. I found that he was a Koord, although living in the town, and having friends among the Turks; and I expected something serious to follow, but it passed off.



The Koords, like the mountaineers in almost every country who are of a different origin from the lowlanders, appear to be looked upon with antipathy by the people of the plains—a feeling they fully reciprocate.

Everything being prepared at ten minutes after eight, we set out with about a dozen people on foot, armed with long firelocks, and the three horsemen, and commenced the ascent of the high range of mountains behind the town. As we cleared the gardens and orchards around, a steep ascent led past a small defile in the mountain on the left, and a deep precipitous valley on the right, with a fine view of the course of the Araxes. The way now became much steeper, and soon the mountain was quite precipitous above and below, the road winding up its nearly perpendicular face. Through an opening in a cliff of whitish clay, we advanced in a south-south-westerly direction, over green hills separated by ravines, many of which afforded a bed to a fine stream, and one of these we crossed. Soon afterwards we saw an Armenian village called Larawan, with an old castle, distant about four miles. Half-way between us and this place was a small round lake. Passing in a longitudinal direction over a long, narrow connecting ridge, having fine picturesque valleys on both sides, we obtained on the right a view of the great valley of the Araxes; while the prospect on the other side was bounded by a jagged mountain dashed on the top with snow. A ruinous-looking village was visible on the height above us. In a hol-

low on the side of the mountain, a cluster of ravines formed a junction, moistening the surrounding tract with their overflowings. Most of our route this morning, indeed, had been partially invaded by the melted snow, which trickled from the summits in streams down the whole side of the mountains; and as the sun here had great power, vegetation was extremely rapid and luxuriant. We stopped for about a quarter of an hour at a fine clear spring, no doubt produced by filtered snow-water; and here the horses moved about up to their knees in young grass, mixed with a profuse diversity of plants and flowers of various colours. Those who have read Tournefort's description of his botanizing excursions near Mount Ararat, of which this is a branch, will easily understand how interesting this region must be to a naturalist.

Resuming our progress, we reached a fine run of water, flowing evidently from the snow above, and proceeded on to the Tigh-Tash, a buttress of lime rocks, running out from the main mass of mountains, and rising in an apex. On this spot we found a stationary guard, placed there for the purpose of watching the Koords; as the road here fairly enters the pass into their country. About noon we turned into it in a south-westerly direction, crossing a little snow, and began descending among some deep valleys. A precipitous descent, enveloped by a large tract of rocks and bushes, was succeeded in the immediate vicinity of a valley by a long steep ascent, when we found ourselves fairly surrounded by mountains, at a very con-

siderable height above the Aras, and about ten miles distant from any village. A deep and rapid river, called the Vizier-Khaneh, ran through the valley from the south-east by south, and a little below joined another river from the south, called the Akboolak. As we descended I observed that the men immediately in our front had stopped, and were examining something on the opposite side. It turned out that they had discovered a party of men on foot, accompanied by a horseman, retiring towards the brushwood which flanked our road on the opposite mountain; and as we were now in what they considered the enemy's country, they viewed everything with suspicion. With the aid of my glass, I ascertained their surmises to be well founded. The party were evidently Koords, and were making for the heights in our front, which were very steep; but only four men were visible on the look-out.

We now made preparations for action. The Kavass, who acted as our leader, pulled off his European dress, and appeared as a Turkish Tofengee; partly, I fancy, to be more at his ease, and partly not to be picked out by marksmen. A moolah (or priest), who had joined the party for the convenience of getting across into the Persian road, made a bundle of his white turban and long robes, and displaying his arms bare up to the shoulders, joined the advance with a long rifle. He appeared a stout serviceable-looking fellow, and was an addition we had not expected to the fighting party.

Fording the river, which, owing to the melting snow, was running very strong, we commenced the

ascent through a thorny glade; and, on gaining the crest, near which we had seen the Koords, everybody had his gun ready, but no enemy appeared. I examined every rock and bush through the glass, but without result, and in a short time we had fairly passed the spot where they had been seen.

I remarked to the Kavass, by way of amusing myself at his expense, that I thought he had made great preparations to meet four men; but he apparently did not perceive the jest, and, supposing the risk was over for the moment, replied with perfect seriousness, "Never fear, sir, I myself am a match for a thousand such fellows."

Just at this moment, five or six heads were observed over a rocky ledge, which seemed to be somewhat out of shot. They were immediately hailed, and at first replied that they were friends; but on the Turks asking, in a taunting tone, why they had gone up so far out of the road if they were friends, they invited them to ascend and decide for themselves; a proposal which the Turks prudently declined, as their place of retreat was extremely well chosen; and it was, besides, impossible for us to tell how many of them there might be. Had they numbered only the half-dozen, indeed, which we had seen, they might have fired for some minutes in safety on their assailants, before they could have reached them, and then escaped among the large stones and bushes on the opposite side of the hill. From their conduct there could be little doubt that they were looking out for booty, when they first saw

us; but probably they were either not in sufficient force to stop us openly, or expected, by concealing part of their number, to draw the Turks into an ambuscade. A Koord, who was in our ranks, spoke to them in their own language, and, I imagine, he explained that the party was accompanying Europeans, who are known to give more trouble when robbed than the booty they carry with them is worth.

After this adventure we crossed a vast drift of snow, filling up a precipitous chasm in the mountain. It had become very porous; and, at its edges, the track passed through deep slippery mud, rendering it necessary to ride with great caution. With our utmost care the baggage was several times in considerable jeopardy. From a crest further on we discerned a high snowy mountain to the east, doubtless Mount Ararat. Passing a deep mountain to the left, craggy peaked mountains reared their lofty summits on every side, and numerous valleys opened a fine view far below. As we progressed, the face of the mountain was broken by more deep gullies filled with snow, and terminating in rugged valleys, while the convex portions of the mountain, instead of a covering of snow, displayed the most luxuriant vegetation. Among other plants, wild rhubarb, the stalks of which the people ate with avidity, was conspicuous.

The scenery throughout the day was of an extraordinary and striking character, and the surface presented, in its whole aspect, the appearance of having undergone some vast convulsion. Many of the rocks seemed to be marble,—red, grey, and white, filled with

veins. This important mountain chain, over which we had made our way with so much difficulty and fatigue, is unnoticed in most maps, the country here being represented as a perfect flat.

As it grew dusk, twinkling lights marked the situation of numerous Koordish encampments of a few tents each, lying further in the valley. We groped our way down among the valleys in the dark for some time, when we were overtaken by a thunderstorm with wind and rain. The thunder was, I think, the loudest I ever heard, and the lightning so vivid and dazzling, that it was impossible to see for some seconds after every flash. As usual, on such occasions, our guides showed a great inclination to hurry on; and, among others, the Kavass disappeared in our front. At nine o'clock we found ourselves in a poor Koordish village, of about a dozen houses, called Chatchulu, where there were one or two Armenian houses. At the door of one of these refuges was the Kavass thundering for admittance, and mingling entreaties with threats and abuse in his conversation with two or three old women within, though his voice was rendered almost inaudible by the barking of the immense sheep-dogs which we had alarmed all through the village.

At length, the door of strong logs was opened, and we found ourselves in a large nondescript building, filled with quadrupeds and bipeds of various kinds. After a little arrangement we were provided with a corner in which to pass the night. We had this day crossed an important mountain chain, hitherto unexplored.

In all this part of Armenia and Koordistan the inhabitants live in large substantial dwellings, of a very rude construction, and under the same roof with their cattle, which constitute their principal wealth. The houses are generally lighted from the roof only. The winters are extremely severe ; snow lying on the ground for six or seven months, to a great depth ; and, as fuel is very scarce, the warmth produced by the cattle sharing the same lodging as their owners, is found a great comfort. The domestic compartment of the dwelling is usually a raised platform near the chimney, divided by some kind of railing from the rest of the building, containing the animals. Through the whole of Persia it is customary, from May till October, and even longer in the south, to pass the nights in the open air, the people generally spreading their beds on the flat roofs of the houses, which the great heat and dryness of the climate make agreeable and safe ; and in the country where we now were, they have the same usage during the summer. To a stranger the heat, noise, and exhausted atmosphere, in the houses, with the invariable stench of the stable and cowhouse, are extremely disagreeable at first, but custom and the fatigues of a journey soon make them more endurable.

Before our departure next morning we were assailed by all the old women in the house with cries for back-sheesh in the most importunate manner ; and their demands were mixed with compliments to Paskiewitsch, who appeared to have been at the place, and in whom they seemed to consider that all Europeans must take a

strong interest. We made our escape from the den about half-past six, and proceeded in a west-south-west direction, Kuzuk Dagħ and other snowy mountains appearing to the right.

Our object in taking the last portion of our course, which was rather a retrograde movement, was to reach Toprak Kalleh, a fortress where there is a governor, from whom I expected to obtain fresh horses and guides. The plain, which is here about ten miles in breadth, is bounded to the south by the Mourad Chaï, the main branch of the Euphrates. It was near this spot that Abbas Mirza, the late prince Royal of Persia, defeated the Turks in 1822. Singularly enough the Persians have almost always had the advantage in their engagements with the Turks, and been defeated by the Russians; while the Turks, on the other hand, have been much more successful in their campaigns with the Russians than the Persians have been.

Toprak Kalleh, or Alaskird, as it was designated by our escort, who adopted the Koordish appellation, having been destroyed by the Russians and Persians, was now little better than a heap of ruins. It is commanded by a castle, which stands on a bold isolated rock to the north. I had sent on one of the horsemen to the governor with the letter I had received for him at Erzeroum, and met my messenger in the town with several of the governor's people, who requested me to come up to see him at the castle. I accordingly proceeded there, and, on dismounting, was ushered into a long hall well carpeted, where we found that functionary



waiting, surrounded by persons in various costumes, and apparently of various races. He was the son of Belool Pasha, the hereditary governor of Byazeed, and was named Mehemet Aga. He appeared to be about twenty years of age, although stated to be only sixteen, and, like other Orientals of rank, he seemed to be as much at ease in his situation as the most experienced man. We were now evidently quite out of the atmosphere of Constantinople; and, instead of the unbecoming sort of uniform worn by the great men of Stamboul, Mehemet Aga retained the old national dress, and wore the turban. The upper garment was a long scarlet pelisse, trimmed with sables and embroidered with gold, and all his attendants wore Oriental costumes. After some conversation about England and India, the latter always a very interesting subject in Turkey and Persia, and some well-directed questions as to the relative size of the Ottoman and British empires, he conversed with me on my own projects, and it was eventually decided that I should go on that evening with an escort to Byazeed, although he invited me in a very courteous manner to prolong my stay.

The preparations for our departure being completed, we set out at a quarter past twelve. Our Khagasman escort having received their remuneration, with which they were well satisfied, accompanied us about a mile out of the town, preceded by some gipsies who tumbled and danced, as they went along, to the music of squeaking pipes, tambourines, and castanets. It was not surprising, under those circumstances, that nearly the

whole population of the village hurried after us to see what was going on. As we passed some crows, the Tofengees of our last escort, who were themselves half Koordish, and having evinced superior spirit, had been well rewarded, were anxious to give a parting proof of their skill, killed several of them with a single ball, at a distance of about one hundred yards. They knelt on one knee before firing, and placed their guns in the notch of a slight forked stick which they carried with them. At length they took their leave, with the rest of the company, from Toprak Kalleh, leaving us with three regular Koordish horsemen well mounted and armed with lances and pistols. One of the two had recently received a ball in his face in an encounter with the roving bandits, so numerous in this region, and with whom conflicts are incessantly taking place.

They galloped about, flourishing their lances, and whenever we approached any heights, struck off in different directions to reconnoitre. The plain we traversed had on one side the Gelalee Koords, and on the other numerous races of Koords towards the lake Wan, who are in the constant habit of robbing the caravans which pass from Persia to Erzeroum. The Persian caravans appear chiefly to convey tobacco, but the Koords are well aware that valuable Cashmere shawls, pearls, and turquoises, as well as gold coin, are to be found among the bales on a diligent search.

At Toprak Kalleh I had again entered the direct road from Erzeroum to Tabreez, which at Hassen Kalleh on the Araxes I had quitted to visit the Pashalic of Kars.

## CHAPTER XII.

A SULTAN'S CAMP—KOORDISH SHEPHERDS—RUSSIAN PREDILECTIONS—ORIENTAL HABITS—THE PERSIAN LANGUAGE—TUMULI—A TROUBLESOME ESCORT—PERSIAN HORSEMEN—INCIDENT OF THE MARCH—PERSIAN HORSEMANSHIP—DIADEEN—PERSIAN SONGS—A HALT.

OUR course at first was over a plain, which became marshy as we approached the river. The latter was succeeded by two other streams, when we entered Kishish-Kioi, a village of Catholic Armenians from Constantinople, settled here in the time of Sultan Mourad. Following the road, we perceived to the right, at the distance of about two miles, a green mound, marking the site of an encampment, occupied by Mourad during his campaigns. It was on this spot that the Sanjak Shireef, or holy standard, had been planted, which always indicates the presence of the Sultan in the camp. Further on, a range of low grassy heights looked very like the old Roman camps seen in many countries. It was flanked on the left by a marsh, and I have no doubt had at some time been used as a fortified position. On the plain we met people driving flocks of sheep from Byazeed to Erzeroum. These shepherds, who form a large part of the population,

wore nothing but a sort of tunic, reaching to the knees, and fastened round the waist with a strap; and some kind of cloak is loosely folded up, and thrown over their shoulders. Their feet are shod in rough sandals of untanned leather, and their appearance altogether probably differs little from that of the shepherd of ancient Greece.

The Darabineh Soo, a good river, running from a bold mountain valley on our left, crossed the plain, and entered another valley on our right, towards the Mourad Chaï, or Eastern Euphrates. A short distance beyond is Kara-Klissa, a poor place, like all others I have seen in Koordistan; and here we put up at the house of an Armenian, who, unfortunately for us, was very rich in cattle, and consequently the place was crowded with horses, cows, and sheep, causing the usual heat, and producing stifling exhalations.

The chief man of the village, who was designated the Bey, paid me a visit in the afternoon. He was a Koord, and wore a handsome dress of the country. I remarked since entering Koordistan that the people did not speak with the same horror of the Russians, or Muskofs, as they are termed, which all classes do in European and Asiatic Turkey; and when I tried to ascertain the Bey's feelings upon this subject, I found that he leant much more than I had expected to the Russian side. He stated "that the invasion of the country had been conducted upon fair principles, and that no place which did not resist had been destroyed." Travellers passing through Koordistan have always had to complain of the

delays of the post, and we found it quite in vain to attempt hurrying them; perhaps the more so as they perceived that we had not really any particular reason for expedition. It was therefore half-past six in the afternoon before the baggage animals were loaded, and everything ready to start. The people of the East can never understand that there is any satisfaction to be derived from merely seeing the country by daylight through which a traveller passes, and, therefore, whenever we urged our postilions to despatch, they invariably replied that there was time enough to reach Diadeen, which was our destination, that night.

The guides, and some of our other retainers, spoke Koordish, and I now learnt from what they said, that the English "no" also signifies "no" in that tongue, which I have no doubt is a dialect of the ancient Persian, or Pehlevey, from which the Teutonic tongues, as well as the Latin, are believed to derive many words and phrases which have a similarity even to the Persian of the present day, seeming to authenticate the Virgilian genealogy of the Roman people. It is also striking enough, that many English words have a closer resemblance to Persian words of the same meaning than the corresponding German terms, as if the Saxon of the continent, although nearer the original locality, had been more altered there than in more distant regions.

I remember, on conversing with a friend, who is a good German scholar, on the general similarity of the Persian to the German, not only in the signification of individual words, but in its sound and construction,

that he differed from me at first, and said he could not perceive the resemblance. But on meeting him afterwards, when he had made more progress in the Persian language, I observed that he very frequently mixed with it German words, and even whole phrases, when a little at a loss in the course of conversation; and on my noticing this to him as an argument in favour of what I had formerly urged, he said that, remarking the circumstance himself, he had since been led to the same conclusion. This was the more striking, as he spoke French and Italian probably as well as German, yet never mixed either with the Persian.

We conversed a good deal with the old Koord, who had received the wound in his face. He informed me that the name of the chief at Kooroo-Moosoon, who was at that time maintaining himself in a state of siege against all the neighbouring authorities, was Abduhl Koord Gelalce, the head of that tribe. Another Koord of influence, further to the west among the same mountains, was called Berazee Mahmoud Aga. The largest Koordish place in that neighbourhood, he said, was Agh Gheyul,\* near Byazeed, which contained 1200 inhabitants.

On setting out, the road had led us towards a pointed hill, apparently terminating a plain; and after crossing a stream, we reached one of those plateaus so frequent

\* On inquiring afterwards, I could hear of no place of consequence bearing this name. It is probably another name for Kooroo-Moosoon, which has a lake near it—Akgheyul, signifying White Lake.

in this region, which resemble old earthen fortifications. On its summit there was an old Armenian burying-ground; and near its base was a village. Some low heights of a similar character rose just opposite, and beyond lay the river Mourad Chaï, running under distant snowy mountains. A small ravine was succeeded by a second plateau. Proceeding some distance we saw another small conical hill. Both this and the preceding one were called Aga Deveh, and I have no doubt that they are tumuli, such as are scattered over the whole Eastern world. Near Kazikioi, a ruined village, we observed the parallel lines, which, according to geologists, indicate the beds of ancient lakes, emptied by the revolutions of Time.

The top of the Akderch mountains disappeared behind other heights, bearing west by south; and fresh mountains and heights rose on the right, with the swift waters of the Mourad Chaï, or principal branch of the Euphrates, flowing in their front, its banks bold and steep. We crossed the Mourad Chaï, at a spot where it reached our horses' shoulders—a rapid muddy stream. Some grassy meadows, with boldly-shaped green hills, extended from the opposite bank to our left; and in the same direction we observed a road leading back, apparently through a wood on the side of the hills. Near an old bridge of four arches, some way beyond, the river has formed itself a new channel.

Crossing some swampy ground, we reached Ghoolasoor, a village a mile from the river, which winds through the plain below it. Here we were to take

fresh horses. As regarded our escort, the young Bey, at Toprak Kalleh, had notified that the three horsemen he had provided for us would convey us to Diadeen, where one of his uncles was governor; but the eldest of the Koords, the one who had received the wound, showed an evident disinclination to proceed any further, and said that the chief of the village would not only furnish us with horses, but with a sufficient escort of armed horsemen.

The village was a Persian colony, settled by a Mussulman Bey, from the neighbourhood of Erivan, and who did not live there himself. The denizens all wore the Persian cap and dress, and evidently felt themselves nearly as little at home in the country as we did. The chief use of an escort, consisting usually of so small a force, is to show that the traveller is under the immediate protection of the authorities, which, as he is attended by Mussulmans, who can identify any offenders, and so eventually bring them to justice, prevents his being plundered and ill-used; and the substitution of strangers recently settled, of a sect whom the Soonees look upon as worse than infidels, would be clearly to defeat the very object in view. I therefore expressed my decided dissatisfaction at the proposal, and also at the great delay in the appearance of the horses.

The Koords received my remarks with a sulky discontented air, and continued smoking their pipes, without making a reply. Two hours elapsed before the baggage cattle were loaded, and some very indifferent animals produced for our own use, when three



Persian horsemen, armed with long guns, sallied from the court-yard to accompany us. The chief Koord now came forward, with rather a more gracious air, to take leave, and receive his backsheesh; but being determined to mark my sense of his conduct, I made it greatly less than that which he knew I had given to the escort from Khagasman. This produced a growl of remonstrance; but finding me immoveable, he addressed a few words in Khoordish to the three Persians, which induced them to turn round their horses' heads, and trot off towards the stable, leaving me unattended. I immediately said to the Koord, "You have been intrusted by the son of the Pasha of Byazeed with my safe convoy to that place, in obedience to a special letter from the Seraskier Pasha of Erzeroum, who, as well as your master, read my firman from the Sultan. If anything occurs to me on this journey, through your negligence or disobedience, it will certainly be visited on your head. I have suffered a long detention here, which I shall not pass unnoticed when I see Belool Pasha at Byazeed; and being determined not to lose another minute, I shall go on immediately, with only the Sooragee." We accordingly started, and for about two miles were amused by the remonstrances of the Sooragee, who said this was the worst part of the road.

The stratagem of the Koord and the Persians to obtain a larger remuneration, however, was completely defeated; and we saw the Persians following us at full speed. On coming up, they commenced a series of salutations and apologies for what had occurred, throw-

ing the whole blame on the Koords, whom they said they were afraid to offend in so secluded a place, although one Persian, he assured us, in the same breath, was able to overthrow Heaven knows how many Koords. As if to convince us of this fact, they began scampering about, pointing their long firelocks at each other, till one of them fell down; his high saddle, which had been badly arranged, fairly turning under his horse's belly while he was at a gallop, but he escaped unhurt.

The plain we had been passing over extended in length for probably sixty miles, and was bounded by a rocky ridge, composed of a white calcareous sandstone. From the summit we had a fine view of Mount Ararat, bearing north-east, and the conical mountain, east-north-east. The descent was by the side of green heights, leading over a brook and through hills of stratified trachite, to a very striking place, Utch Eklesia, signifying "the three churches." It is an old Armenian religious establishment; but only one church is to be seen, and there is no appearance of there ever having been any other: I presume, therefore, the appellation must have had some mystical meaning. The church is surrounded by a village, and the whole is enclosed in a quadrangular wall, flanked with towers. Our arrangements obliged us to pass this curious place without entering it, which I much wished to do, though I confess I was not fully aware of the interest it possessed at the time. The church is said to date from the fifth century; and its site is supposed

to occupy the highest plateau of Armenia, from which there must be a constant general descent, and in some places a very rapid one, to the Persian Gulf, as the Mourad Chaï, which rises close to it, has a considerable current even below Bassorah, a distance of 900 miles. The sun was very low when we passed Utch Eklesia, and as it was lying to the west, we could not distinguish the style of the masonry; but it seemed to resemble that of Ani, though it had a ruder and less finished appearance.

Mounting another ridge, some steep heights presented so abrupt a descent, that, although we dismounted, we had some difficulty in getting down our horses: I think we must have deviated from the proper road, which probably lay a little to our left, and we did not re-enter it again for some time. From the spot where we descended we obtained a view of Diadeen, distant about an hour's journey. The whole prospect was very beautiful, although a kind of scenery which I had never seen anywhere else. The country immediately around was composed of sloping hills, covered with the richest grass, and furrowed with numerous deep concave ravines, threaded by streams, and having their sides completely mantled with grass and herbage, like the downs above. Diadeen lies on the rocky bank of the Mourad Chaï, which rises to a considerable height above it; and at this spot the river glides through a chasm. Behind Diadeen some very striking rocks, resembling castellated buildings, rise from the perfectly-green hills in detached masses; and

in the distance appears Mount Ararat, covered even at this season more than half-way down with snow. Hardly any country can present a more verdant aspect than this neighbourhood did at the time I passed through it; yet I have been assured by those who have crossed it in the month of August, that it does not then show a single blade of grass; and as there is neither tree nor bush within sight, it had left on their minds the impression of one of the most sterile countries in the world.

Nothing, indeed, can be more opposite than the estimates formed as to the fertility of the soil by travellers hurrying through many regions of the East, according to the season at which they make their journey; and nowhere is this more the case than in Persia and the adjacent territories. The snow is, in many parts, still on the ground in February and March, and is succeeded in May and June by intense heat, so that in July the most abundant crops are cut, trodden out, and fairly housed and out of sight; and the parched-up land, undivided by hedges, and nowhere presenting a single shrub except the camel-thorn, looks for the rest of the year like a desert.

The road led over the grassy surface till we reached the edge of the steep cliff on the left bank of the river. Both sides of the ravine appeared, in the twilight, almost as perpendicular as a wall, and were composed of very smooth rock, and of great height. On the right bank is a large enclosure, or castle, and the left affords a zigzag pathway among the rocks, where the

stream is crossed through a deep and stony channel. Soon afterwards we entered the town through an old but handsome gateway, leading us to indulge in anticipations respecting the place itself, which were completely disappointed.

The Persian horsemen had shown a great inclination to stick to us during the latter part of the journey ; and finding that we were likely to be overtaken by night, I could only persuade one of them to go on with a message to the governor, by consenting that my Constantinople servant should accompany him, as a sort of pledge for his veracity, and consequent security. They joined us soon after we had entered the gate ; and my domestic, although he had been a Greek Pali-kari in his day, and had subsequently travelled in Egypt and Syria, was full of lamentations as to the ultra-barbarism of the country, adding, that he could get nobody to listen to him, but that when he demanded admission to the Serai, he had been informed that the sun had set, and the governor had gone to his harem, and that nobody dared for his ears to disturb him till the following morning. We accordingly, happy to save time, followed the Sooragee to the post-house, and passed the night in an apartment from which some oxen had just been turned out. Soon after we had thus settled ourselves, we were joined by the Persians, who begged us to give them a little bread—a request which occasioned us some surprise, as they had just received their backshcesh, and had expressed themselves well satisfied. But it turned

out that the townspeople had refused to sell them any, because they were Sheehs or sectarians, and they were afraid to return to their own village before morning. These poor fellows seemed of quite a different nature from both the Turks and Koords. They were far more civil, and their demeanour was more gay and pleasing; the contrast reminding one of that which presents itself on leaving the northern countries of Europe for the southern. At the same time, I fear the change was accompanied by a corresponding deterioration of integrity; for though such people as the inhabitants of Koordistan, and the parts of Turkey we had lately traversed, where there is no scruple as to robbing on the highway, cannot be rated very high in that respect, they are not addicted to such constant speculation and deception in everything connected with their own interest, as the more polished races inhabiting the whole of that country, which in the East is called Iraun. The Persians with us were constantly singing; and as I had never heard a Turkish Sooragee produce anything but a howl in the course of his journey, I was much struck by the difference. I found that an extraordinary shake, which they introduced certainly in a rather monotonous manner, was common to the vocal music of the whole of Persia; and was considered, when well performed, a great excellence in their national music. This style of singing in Persia is, I believe, very ancient; and some months after this, while travelling through the Buktiaree mountains, which lie between ancient Susa and Persepolis, I heard

it in the greatest perfection. The language there is probably less changed from the ancient Pehlevee, or Persian, than at any other place, and the mountaineers are in the constant custom of reciting in this manner the poetry of Ferdoosee, and still older songs of their own, no longer understood in the other districts of Persia. When I was in the tent of the chief of the Mahmoud Senai tribe, between the ruins of Shahpoor and the singular natural fortress of Killa-sefeed, in company with Colonel Shee, whose long residence in Persia had made him perfectly master of the language, a chorus of young men, at his request, sang some stanzas of this music, and the effect was far from unpleasing.

Early the following morning I sent to the Serai for our horses, and to expedite the escort; but it was seven o'clock before they arrived, and, meanwhile, we were a perfect show to gaping crowds, who came to gratify their curiosity by staring at us. Being anxious to save time, I did not visit the governor, but left the place about half-past seven, making for the nearest range of heights. A deep valley on the left towards Ararat led past an old castle, on an isolated rock, through a green and smooth tract, falling with a gradual slope on both sides of the road. At the mouth of another valley, the adjacent hills were apparently basaltic, and of a very porous appearance, while the ground was strewn with fragments of ancient lava. A good bridge of one arch, in the Armenian style, spanned a large stream, probably the Ghimoos; and

here we saw a large party, in the service of the Pasha of Byazeed, with a number of horses, refreshing themselves. We made a short halt ourselves, and lost another quarter of an hour from one of the baggage-horses running out of the road, and turning over its load, which had to be readjusted. All travellers complain, and with reason, of the carelessness of the Koords in these matters, as well as their total want of system in performing the service of the post, and it is only in Turkey that good arrangements for this purpose exist in the East.



## CHAPTER XIII.

BYAZEED—VISIT TO THE CASTLE—BELOOL PASHA—INSPECTION  
OF THE CASTLE—TURKISH EXACTIONS—DEMIR PASHA—RUSSIAN  
INTRIGUES—IMPORTANCE OF BYAZEED—PASS OF BYAZEED—  
ROUTES THROUGH KOORDISTAN.

THE castle and part of the town of Byazeed were discernible at some distance. The road was intersected by a couple of dry watercourses, one of considerable extent, running from escarped heights to the right, where we commenced the ascent towards the town, passing, as we advanced, an Armenian cemetery and an old church. The castle stands on a rocky eminence overlooking the town, which for a time was concealed from view by some detached and precipitous heights rising in its front. The castle itself, indeed, was at first only distinguishable as a lofty square-looking structure with many windows, and apparently highly ornamented. It is erected on a succession of stone terraces, of fine solid masonry, and a minaret gleaming in the sun showed that it included a mosque among its buildings. At length, a kind of gorge in the heights opened a full view of the place. Byazeed, at a distance, is a complete optical illusion, having the appearance of a

fine city built on a mountain, which on a near approach dwindles down sadly. The deception is, in great measure owing to the wild and peculiar situation in which the town stands, among masses of rock of various colours, interspersed with frequent patches of verdure ; and the intervening plain, with the background of Mount Ararat, adds to the effect, which is also heightened by the strong sunshine of the climate, throwing over the landscape a multitude of broad lights and shadows. On drawing nearer, it was but too evident that the castle was the only building in the place possessing any pretensions ; that all the others were of small size, much dilapidated, if not altogether in ruins. Nor was this extraordinary ; for Byazeed had been occupied, and it may be said sacked, by the Russian, Persian, and Turkish armies successively, in the course of a few years.

As we wound up the precipitous ascent, crossing broad chasms in the surface, every fresh glimpse we obtained added to our disappointment. I was met at the gate by the leader of our small escort from Diadcen, who described himself as the son-in-law of the governor of that place ; and as all Koords, like mountaineers generally, consider themselves gentlemen, he very possibly spoke the truth. He said he had delivered the letter to Belool Pasha, who had only recently returned from Toprak Kalleh, which, he said, prevented him from receiving me at his own abode. But, I believe that, although well disposed to show hospitality to Europeans, Belool Pasha is frequently prevented from

doing so, by the positive exhaustion of his funds. My Diadeen friend then conducted me to the best Armenian house, delivering many compliments by the way from the Pasha, who begged that I would see him on the following day. The house was anything but good; but it had the advantage of being altogether separated from the receptacle for cattle, and there were scarcely any other inmates but ourselves—which was equally agreeable.

A few minutes after arriving we were visited by two of the Pasha's suite; one of whom called himself his Khasnadar, or Treasurer. They said they had been sent by him to inquire after my health, and to apologize for the badness of the konak, which would be accounted for by the desolated state of the town. After some more civilities they took their leave, and we were not troubled with any other visitors.

Next morning I repaired to the castle, ascending by a steep road under the high wall of the terrace on which the structure stands. The entrance was through a magnificent gateway, in the Saracenic style, though it had no appearance of antiquity. It reminded me of edifices I had seen at Erzeroum and Ani, the archways having a peculiar niched termination, belonging to the Persian school of architecture, and a rich Arabesque relief, in which the lion was introduced. The architecture within the court was equally imposing. The circumstances attending a hurried visit of ceremony prevented my examining, and noting more particularly what I saw in this part of the building; but I was

particularly struck by the great height of the arches, and by the admirable contrivances for producing shade in a climate where the constant glare of the sunshine is so much felt.

Passing through a hall filled with attendants, we entered the place of reception, or *Salamlik*, as it is called by the Turks—a very handsome apartment, well painted and paved with marble. At the extremity was a low wooden platform of about thirty feet in length, covered with carpets, and furnished with silk cushions. The Pasha was sitting with his back to a large window, which projected from the room, and the upper portion of which was composed of coloured glass, while the lower panes commanded an extensive view of the plain, backed by the towering peak of Mount Ararat. He immediately rose, and in a very courteous manner advanced to meet me, when he placed me near him, and commenced the compliments and inquiries after health usual in the East. Very few persons of his rank in Turkey rise on the introduction of any stranger, although the Persians frequently do.

The manner of the Pasha was more European than I had been accustomed to among the Orientals, probably from the vicissitudes of his life, which had thrown him occasionally among Europeans.

His family obtained from Sultan Mourad a firman, creating them hereditary Pashas of Byazeed, and the dignity had been held in the first instance by Mahmoud Pasha his great-grandfather. On the death of his grandfather, his uncle, Ibrahim Pasha, had attempted

to dispossess his father Mahomed, but, by the intervention of the Sultan, Mahomed and his son Belool were ultimately re-established in the government. The present Pasha had, at different times, been made prisoner in turn by the Persians, the Turks, and, I believe, by the Russians. His misfortunes seemed to have impaired his mind, which was probably never very robust; and he was said to be very unfit for controlling the turbulent spirits around him, and of whom he lived in constant terror. His appearance was prepossessing and agreeable. His turban, as well as his inner garments, was in the smart showy fashion of the Koords, which much resembles that of the old Mamelukes; but he wore over his under-dress a kind of military cloak of crimson cloth, with a gold-embroidered collar, such as is now used by the great men at Constantinople, and generally by the Sultan himself, who is in the habit of presenting these mantles to his officers. They are a cheap substitute for the expensive *kelauts*, or dresses of honour, of former days. Belool Pasha's countenance was animated and intelligent, and lit up by an agreeable smile, giving me more the impression of a man calculated for the repose of civilized society than as a ruler over barbarians. Our approach to Persia was marked among other things by the darker complexion of the people; and the Pasha's beard, which was of ample dimensions, was of so dark a shade, that I am inclined to think the artificial means so universally used in Persia had been adopted in his case. He made many inquiries as to how I had fared on my journey,

how I had been escorted, and how the people about me had behaved, expressing his regret that he could not do more to render travellers comfortable in their passage through the country. After some general conversation, in which the great men of the place who were present joined, and communicated very freely respecting the history of his family (who, I believe, were almost all exceedingly tyrannical and unjust), I expressed my admiration of the handsome architecture and fine situation of the palace. He said it had been commenced about fifty years previously by his grandfather, Isaac Pasha, and had occupied more than twenty years in building. The masons had been brought chiefly from Wan, and the architects, painters, &c., from Ispahan. The Persians now understand but little of building in stone, except for the formation of foundations and pavements: but their brick-work is the finest I ever saw. The Pasha asked me if I would like to go through the building, and I eagerly assented. Accordingly the Khasnadar, appointed as our cicerone, led us through the open court below to the largest mass of the building, overlooking the plain, and forming the most conspicuous portion when approaching from the west. A heavy massive doorway admitted us to a dark vestibule, opening into a large square hall, arched round, and lighted from the top through a domed roof, with doorways leading in various directions. Through one of these we entered a suite of numerous apartments of large size, the walls and ceilings richly painted in the Persian style, and inlaid with small compartments of

enamelled glass and pieces of mirror. It was quite evident that we had got beyond that portion of the Mussulman world which looks upon the representation of any living animal as connected with idolatry, and an infringement of the second commandment, and were now within the limits of those regions which, although they look upon themselves as Soonees, have adopted the usages of the Persians. The ornamental part of the palace, however, had suffered terribly from the successive invasions. Much was said by the Khasnadar as to the insatiable extortions of the Turkish Pasha, who had even ripped up the walls and ceilings of all the apartments in the house, except those of the Salamlik, in search of concealed treasure.

Ascending to the roof, we found ourselves on a fine flat pavement of polished stone, where, from different points, we obtained the most extensive views of the surrounding country, and the best survey of the various parts of the building. I now saw that, in constructing the latter, the object of defence had not been forgotten, — the walls, at some points eight feet in thickness, being pierced by loopholes, and surmounting the terraces, while the upper portions of the building, both on the roofs and within the covered passages, had all their respective commands over courts below, and, in some instances, over each other.

The Koords are said to entertain a great dislike towards the three neighbouring nations, and especially towards the Russians; but although it must have been quite obvious to them, when I spoke on this subject,

that I entertained politically Turkish or anti-Russian sentiments, as all Englishmen in the East do, more or less, they did not hesitate to declare that they had suffered more from the invading armies of their own faith than from the Russians, and accused the Turkish Pasha who had invaded the country, of having committed more devastation during a short residence than the two other hostile armies had done together. He had utterly ruined some Christian villages, which never recovered his exactions; and he thus paved the way, in great measure, for the subsequent emigration of the Armenians within the Russian frontier, to the number it is believed, from this neighbourhood alone, of about two thousand families. The Khasnadar concluded by observing that Temir or Demir Pasha, the Turkish commander, did not escape unpunished, for petitions having reached the Sultan, he was subjected to the usual consequences of incarceration and "squeezing" incident to such accusations.

One thing particularly worthy of notice in the castle was the good arrangement of the different kiosks, overlooking the splendid prospect below, as well as the general view from the numerous windows. The Turks universally appreciate a beautiful prospect, and they always conduct strangers to points where it may be obtained, without making any comment, as if it were unnecessary further to direct attention to it. The interior courts of the castle I had not an opportunity of minutely inspecting, as they formed the lodgings of the female section of the establishment, but by the Khas-



nadar's account, they were far superior to the portions we visited; which I can easily believe, having afterwards observed in Persia, where I sometimes lodged in the largest palaces quite unoccupied, that the anderoon, or female apartments, were usually the only ones that could be called handsome. It may be worth while to observe that the whole building had, to the eyes of a person arriving from Turkey, a mosque-like appearance, if I may use the expression. High arches, very light yet solid, were surmounted with domes and points, which carried on the lower portions of the building quite into the sunshine in a most agreeable manner.

The neighbourhood, like that of Ani, abounds in stone of an excellent description for solid and ornamental building. Basalt is found in the heights rising from the plain just opposite the town, and an orange or rusty-coloured stone can be obtained in the direction of Diadeen, and a fine white calcareous sandstone close to the town.

From all I could learn during my excursion in this part of Koordistan, the peculiar situation of this race has not been overlooked by Russia. The Koords have always had the misfortune to be surrounded by conquering nations, possessing nothing estimable in their political or moral character, and who have uniformly endeavoured to subdue and oppress them. It is not extraordinary, therefore, that they should regard all strangers with distrust and suspicion, and even consider them as their natural enemies. Isolated and cut off, as it were, from all connexion with civilized countries,

they have assumed the character of lawless freebooters ; and as the Sultan, in all his attempts to establish his authority in the country, has shown that, in point of trustworthiness and fair dealing, he was not exalted a single step above themselves, he has confirmed them in these habits. While I was in Koordistan, everybody spoke with indignation of what they termed his persecution of the Bey of Ravendouz, one of their highest chiefs, who was believed to have been strangled on his way back from a visit to the Sultan at Constantinople. The Russian Government in this quarter is well aware of the existence of these feelings among the Koords, and, of course, no way anxious that the Porte should recover its influence in this remote portion of its empire. But here, as in Persia, it is quite apparent that, carrying on fruitless and exhausting hostilities against the distant provinces in revolt, or neighbours who can never be solidly incorporated in either empire, is retarding everything like improvement ; and, as the Russian Government well knows, is quite as effective in deteriorating the resources of Turkey as an invasion of Cossacks : while, at the same time, it has the advantage of entailing on Russia no expenditure either of men or money.

Nothing could be more easy than for the Russian authorities on the opposite side to have ejected from Kooroo-Moosoon, a position almost on neutral ground, the Gelalee Koords, who had established themselves there when I was passing, under their chief Abdullah ; but, in point of fact, they wish the Koords not to be

deprived of their strength upon the Turkish frontier, knowing that an approach to regular government is impossible in a country where these fellows exist in their present state. The Turks, under Russian encouragement, on the other hand, are attempting, in their usual inefficient, and, to use a familiar phrase, bungling manner, to exterminate, or at least to overcome the Koords, in which they altogether fail, while it was very perceptible to me, from a conversation I had with the Russian consul at Erzeroum, that the prospect of establishing a good footing among the Koords was a primary consideration with the Russian officials.

Every step which Russia makes from the frontier towards Tabreez is most important, not only to Turkey, but equally so to Persia.

Constructing a fortress such as Goomri, in an advanced and commanding position, may be compared to making a breaching battery near the walls of a city. In this, Russia may be said to possess, in a military sense, the whole open plain of Kars, and she can occupy the entire portion of the road between Erzeroum and Byazeed, and cut off all communication between Turkey and Persia. As to the attempts at fortification on the road itself, such as Erzeroum, Diadeen, and even Khoï, they are worse than useless, begetting a false confidence on the part of the natives. Their very situation (being on the road, instead of in its front and covering it) is objectionable. It would probably be the best mode of strengthening these frontiers against Russia, to select points as nearly as possible opposite

to those she has fortified, or is in course of fortifying, as sites for defences of simple construction, enclosing within their walls no more space than is requisite for garrisons perfectly capable of maintaining them.

In their desire to win over the Koords, the Russian authorities proceeded so far that, on the pretext that they were a migratory people, they claimed a right for them to cross the frontier for the purpose of grazing their cattle; and that even in Turkey they should still be looked upon as Russian subjects, and have no imposts to pay on that side. The whole eastern frontier of Turkey is in the possession of the Koords, the Turk being only there occasionally as a governor; for most of the chiefs who have any power are Koords. This is part of the half-policy of the Turkish Government, which, without relinquishing its right to the countries at a distance from the capital, is satisfied everywhere to come to some compromise of this kind as regards a portion of the power, or rather, the profit derived from such districts.

The various tribes speaking the Koordish language extend from the Persian Gulf to the Caucasus, occupying a mountainous or extremely difficult country. They are a brave, hardy, and active people. As irregular cavalry, they are far before any of the neighbouring nations; and among the mountains act on foot as first-rate riflemen. The Koords, although they have occasionally served the Sultan zealously against the Persians, appear to have never liked the Turks; and this feeling has always been kept alive by the ineffectual

attempts of the Porte to complete their subjugation. The feeling of nationality is a predominant feature in their character ; insomuch that for a native to describe anything as Koordish, signifies that it is of the best possible quality. Naturally, therefore, attempts to annihilate their chiefs, and introduce in their stead branches of the Constantinople government, excite their liveliest hostility. The attack, some years ago, on the Koords of Ravendouz, in which, for the first time in a very long period, the Turkish forces united with the Persian, added very materially to their distrust and dislike of both these nations ; and even tribes who had not been attacked, such as the Gelalees, broke off all intercourse with them, and retired into the mountains, plundering in every direction. I have no doubt it is the interest of Russia that the Koords should, to a certain degree, be weakened and scattered, though it has been her crafty policy, while urging or encouraging Turkey in this course, to pretend to be their champion and friend. She has pursued a similar course among the Turkomans to the eastward of the Caspian ; and, when in a contiguous part of Asia, I heard of dresses of honour having been given to the chiefs, at the same time that the Shah of Persia was encouraged to attack them from the south. The more these various tribes of barbarians weaken themselves by their incessant conflicts, the more they are paving the way for the dominion of such a power as Russia.

I do not think there is a place of greater importance than Byazeed, in a military point of view, in the whole

of Western Asia. There is a continuous descent along the banks of the Euphrates to the Persian Gulf; but as this great valley conducts through the range of Mount Taurus into Syria, its value to Russia, on this account alone, must be obvious. It is much nearer to her present frontier, and much more accessible than Erzeroum, which lies on the western branch of the Euphrates; and should the contingencies of the present war render it possible for Russia to push on a force into the northern part of Syria, the good-will of the Koords, at the moment of undertaking such an operation, would afford her an immense advantage.

There is another exceedingly strong pass at Byazeed, on the Persian side, where a very small regular force might completely seal the entry into Persia from the side of Erzeroum, except through the roads of central Koordistan. It may also be looked upon as a key to Koordistan, and to Diarbekir, Mousul, and the whole course of the Tigris, as far as Bagdad. I have no hesitation in saying that Russia, with the assistance of the Koordish tribes, could speedily establish a route, and march an army down this valley into Syria. The distance from Erivan to Aleppo is not above 500 miles,\* if so much.

I had an opportunity of obtaining a good account of some of the routes through Koordistan to the south of Byazeed, from an officer who visited those provinces, when the Turkish and Persian forces were carrying on

\* The route by Aleppo, Diarbekir, and Wan, to Aderbijan from the Mediterranean, is quite practicable for an army.

hostilities against the Koordish Bey of Ravendouz. He left Tabreez in the middle of summer, his first object being to visit the Turkish camp, under Redschid Pasha; and passing through the towns of Dilmaun, Kootoo, and Wan, he proceeded along the south shore of the lake of Wan to Bidlis and Sert, crossing the Khabour and Tigris. He passed from there to Djezeerch-el-Omar, and recrossing the Tigris and Khabour rivers, went over the Zahoor range of mountains to Zabaur, when he came in view of Redschid Pasha's camp, established a little to the east of Akara. His regular force amounted to between seven and eight thousand men, besides irregular troops; and he had twelve pieces of cannon. The Pasha, finding he had come from the Persian side, gave him, as he thought, a rather sulky reception, stating what he afterwards discovered to be incorrect, that no one in his camp could read the communications in Persian, of which his visitor was the bearer. The officer pursued his way nearly south, and crossed the Zaub, turning in an easterly direction to Hareer, where he found the camp of the Pasha of Bagdad. From thence he went to Arbela and Alten Kiopri on the little Zaub, and by Kerkook to Lahijaun, where he found the Persian force, under the Ameer-i-Nizam.

He described the country he passed through as mountainous from Dilmaun to Wan, which lies in a fine plain to the south-east of the lake. The road was good, and might everywhere be made practicable for wheels; and in the country adjoining, it was generally

very well cultivated. There were many fine plains; and though the rivers were all small, running chiefly in torrent beds, there was abundance of water. Sheep seemed to be numerous, but there were few cattle, and villages were very rare.

From Wan to Bidlis the road was chiefly through mountains to the south of the lake, with an occasional plain. A part of the road, for a distance of four or five miles, was difficult even for horsemen. To my informant, who had just arrived from Persia, where buildings of stone are rare, Bidlis appeared "a singular-looking town, built of large stones, with a castle seated on a rock, and each house resembling a fortification."

The Khabour has two branches which join in the vicinity of Bidlis. The first half of the road to Sert is what the traveller described as "really bad." The road, in descending the bank of the river, passed through a remarkable opening in the rock about twenty feet in height, forming for a few yards a sort of tunnel; and this was succeeded by a second passage of the same description. The journey to Sert occupied two days; the road, a difficult defile along the Khabour, here called the Bidlis-Soo, being nowhere good.

Sert, which stands on a well-cultivated plain, is surrounded by gardens teeming with melons, cucumbers, &c., but having very few trees, and mountains rise in the background. There are said to be antiquities at some distance from the town.

From Sert there is a good road to the Tigris. My informant then traversed a mountainous country to



Mediad, a fine large village on the bank of the river, where he entered on a very rocky plain, affording no water except in deep wells. The inhabitants are a mixture of Koords and Armenians, called Yakobees or Jacobites. The road continues flat and rocky to Djezeereh-el-Omar, an island of the Tigris, and an old Roman frontier town. At an Ordoo, or Koordish Camp, he crossed the Tigris in a boat. From the Zahoor range of heights, an immense plain extended to within a few miles of Akara, and must have been the plain of Mousul. Roads quite practicable for horsemen, crossed the mountains and a hilly country to Redschild Pasha's camp. Ali Pasha of Bagdad's camp, at Hareer, was reached from here by a hilly road; and Sulimanieh was distant three marches, the last part of the way being bad.

## CHAPTER XIV.

VISIT TO HUSSEIN AGA—KOORDISH ENCAMPMENT—THE CHIEF'S  
TENT—KOORDISH HOSPITALITY—THE CHIEF'S SONS—KOORDISH  
CAVALRY — KOORDISH REPAST — DEPARTURE FROM CHADER-  
KIOI.

ON the following morning, having made arrangements for continuing our journey, we set out, accompanied by a follower of the Pasha's, named Yusef Aga, and two other horsemen, extremely well mounted, and handsomely clothed and equipped. I was very desirous to see something of the Koordish tribes, and while with the Pasha, I asked him if he thought the state of affairs at Khooroo-Moosoon was such as to preclude the possibility of a visit to the Gelalee Koords, the Zeelanee Koords, his own tribe, being now almost all settled in towns, and not preserving the peculiarities of the regular nomade population. He did not seem to relish the idea, but said, that soon after crossing the Persian frontier, we should pass near the tribe of Hidralee, the chief of which was his particular friend, and that Yusef Aga would continue with us till we had visited his camp, or, if I found it any convenience, would go on as far as Tabreez. I accepted the offer,

and was accordingly attended by Yusef Aga. We were also accompanied by the owners of the baggage-horses on foot, instead of by regular Suragees, and they allowed them to run about in every direction—the Pasha's people having too high a sense of their own dignity to look after them; and at our very starting we were detained by a casualty to the baggage. All being readjusted, we entered a deep chasm-like valley, flanked by a rocky mountain of no great height. A brook which we crossed flowed through a range of basalt, joined in a curious manner to the sandstone, the stratification of which was very much twisted. Passing a Koordish encampment of thirty or forty tents, surrounded with horses, sheep, and cattle, we entered a fine elevated plain of grassy downs. The road was carried through the pass called the Kazlee-ghul; another pass by Makoo lay more to our left.

A heavy thunderstorm overtook us shortly after we had emerged from the pass, and I saw no more rain for several months. We found shelter at Klissa, a miserable village, surrounding an old and ruinous Armenian church, and certainly the poorest place I had yet seen. All the Christian inhabitants had emigrated to Russia. A fat Ket-Koda, who had his beard died of a caroty colour with henna,\* received us with many professions of hospitality, and promised

\* This plant is much used in Persia for such purposes, although people of rank employ, in addition, the powdered leaf of the indigo plant, which is laid on subsequently, and produces a black colour.

to procure horses with the least possible delay. The people all addressed us with the salutation of "Selam Aleikam!" which the Osmanlis never do to Christians. Notwithstanding the courteous reception awarded us by the Ket-koda, it was clear that he had a design upon our pockets, as he not only contrived to get us charged a most exorbitant price for the horses, but to make them arrive so late, that we were obliged to pass the night at the village, by which means, as he furnished everything at a high price, he turned our visit to very good account. I have since heard that he bore the character of a notorious knave.

In the morning we started at half-past seven, much later than we intended, more than an hour having been lost in packing the baggage. We felt grievously the loss of the Turkish Suragees, for, besides the tardiness and mismanagement of our new retainers in arranging the baggage, they did not appear with the horses till it suited themselves. At parting I gave the Khan a small present in money. He made a gesture as if surprised at my presenting him with anything, but immediately slipped the *douceur* into his pocket. The Persian dress became general at this point of our journey.

The plain beyond Klissa was broken by volcanic-looking hills, rising at intervals from its surface; and many fragments of basalt were strewn about. Some hills to the right showed the basaltic rock under a stratum of red sandstone. We passed the village and castle of Zohraub, and entering a fine circular plain,

enclosed by a double range of heights, saw a caravan of Persian merchants, encamped, accompanied by a Koordish horseman. A valley, watered by a broad stream, led to the left with a singular *écroulement* of the red rock.

We continued down the valley, with a broad stream on our right, to Chader-Kioi, the encampment of the Koordish chief, Hussein Aga, where we arrived about noon. He had been prepared for our appearance by Yusef Aga, who had gone on before us, leaving the son of our Klissa host, who attended us armed and mounted in the Persian way, to act as our guide. The other two Koords had left us at Klissa,—one an old man, but a very good horseman, rode a grey Arab, which he had brought from the southern part of Koordistan; and as the price he put upon it was not high, I had offered to become its purchaser. Before doing so I wished him to take off the saddle, which was large and heavy, but to this he objected, and I have no doubt the poor animal had one of those almost incurable sore backs so common in this part of the world; the more so as Yusef Aga gave me a hint to have nothing to do with him.

We had expected to find the Hedraulee tribe at this spot in the force usually assembled round the chief,—that is, about 1200 tents, which, at five persons each, would amount to 6000 individuals. Unluckily, they had just moved for the sake of grass, and I was disappointed at finding only the large tents of the chief, and those immediately connected with him, which,

however, still amounted to a considerable number. Some of his own tents, indeed, had gone forward to be prepared for his arrival; but among those that remained, a very large one of black horsehair marked his presence. It was about 50 feet long, by 25 or 26 in width, and was open in the front, which was turned from the sun, and arranged as a hall of audience. The floor was completely carpeted; and at the extremity stood a handsome silk cushion, as large as a sofa, with a higher one behind as a support.

I was met a little way from the tent by the chief's eldest son, a very fine-looking man, about thirty, dressed in a kind of Mameluke costume, surmounted by a long dark-red cloak. His manners were exceedingly prepossessing, and he neither had the *morgue* nor haughtiness of a Turk, nor the cringing artificial manner of a Persian. If he could only have spoken a European language, he would have been perfectly presentable at any Western Court.

Entering the tent, we sat down on the cushion, the rest of the company remaining standing. Among those present were three younger sons of the chief, named respectively Achmet, Abdhi, and Kassim; and a few minutes afterwards the chief himself appeared. I rose to pay him my compliments, but he insisted, with an air of great hospitality and kindness, on my remaining seated, and took the place vacated by his son, who, as well as his own brother, a cheerful-looking man between fifty and sixty, now stood up, never sitting in his presence. His sons took their places nearest to him, and

the rest of the assemblage formed a lane up to where he stood. All were clothed in different but very handsome costumes; and, as a whole, the scene was both very imposing and very interesting.

The chief made a great many inquiries after different diplomatic notabilities who had passed through his country, but his manner was by no means so intelligent or so pleasant as that of his son; and there was a considerable degree of severity in his countenance. Chibooks and coffee were brought in, and his younger sons took cups from the attendants and presented them to us. This was a courtesy no young Turk of rank would have shown to any Christian; and, indeed, although the usages were still more Turkish than Persian, the demeanour of the people themselves partook rather of the suavity and good-humour of the latter race.

Having expressed a desire to see a well-equipped Koordish horseman before I left the encampment, the chief addressed a few words to his eldest son, who left the tent, and in a few minutes reappeared outside splendidly mounted and equipped, in company with his youngest brother, who, although only about eighteen years of age, was six feet in height. The eldest son rode a white Arab, upwards of fifteen hands high, which he had procured near Bagdad, and which, he said, was from the province of Nedjid. Half of the animal's tail was dyed crimson, in conformity with a custom very general in Persia. The other son was mounted on a bay horse of somewhat smaller size, but equally

handsome. Their arms and accoutrements were of the best description, and the horse furniture was in part mounted in gold and silver. I saw on their horses, for the first time, the head-ornament called by the Persians the *reschma*, consisting of a solid chain, like a curb chain, on the head-stall of the horse—often, when the animal belongs to a Persian of rank, made of pure gold. Both carried the long slender Koordish lance, and that of the elder son was plumed with a bunch of black horsehair. The shaft of the lances carried by the Koords is formed of bamboo cane, obtained from the southern shores of the Euphrates and Tigris, none growing in the upper part of Koordistan. Its universal use shows that the communication between the different parts of the country must be constant. The condition of the horses and the state of the arms and clothing were very superior, and great attention seemed to have been given to cleaning and polishing the arms. The Koords, before proceeding to battle, pay the most scrupulous attention not only to their equipment, but to what in Europe would be termed a very particular toilet; a custom which, with the more effeminate practice of applying powdered antimony to the eyelids, is very prevalent among these tribes, being adopted even by the hardest warriors, and alluded to in their national songs. The young chiefs carried at the pommel of their saddles a slender steel javelin, fitted in a velvet case, and which, with a small steel battle-axe, is, I believe, the distinguishing mark of a chief. They were also furnished with a small round shield or target, covered with skin,



and studded with metal bosses, which is used by Koords of all ranks.

When we had fully scrutinized their equipment, they began galloping about, and performed a kind of exercise called the Key-Kaj, following each other in turn, and enabling us to form a very good idea of their expertness as horsemen, and of the speed and action of their steeds.

The eldest son informed me that the number of horsemen in Koordistan, mounted and appointed equally well with themselves, was very great, which I can easily believe; for when leaving Persia, some time afterwards, I met part of the tribe a short way to the north of Teheran, proceeding under Achmet Aga, the second son, to join the Shah's camp before he went to Herat, and a great many were, as his brother had said, quite as well mounted as himself. He asked whether I thought cavalry of that description would not be very formidable, if accompanied by a few light guns. I told him that in India the British Government maintained a great force of irregular cavalry who acted in conjunction with artillery; and that a similar Cossack force was employed in Russia, a part of which had also light guns. He said he had seen the 'Cossacks, and he thought it was impossible there could be worse cavalry; but the body he referred to were a very ill-mounted force, which I afterwards saw performing duty along the left bank of the Araxes, and I was alluding to the regular corps at St. Petersburg, belonging to the Imperial Guard.

After this display of horsemanship I was about to take my leave, but was informed I could not be permitted to depart without eating in their tent, and hence a short delay took place, when the repast appeared. It was composed of various pilaws and preparations of milk, as well as more substantial food, and the only person who sat down to partake of it with me was the chief's eldest son. It was an infallible indication of our being now so far in the East, that knives, forks, and spoons had altogether vanished.

The Persians always object to eating with those of a different religion, but the Koords are more liberal on this point. By eating with them, I mean using the same dishes; for in Persia, where every two persons usually have a separate tray or *sofra*, Europeans frequently join in an entertainment "without dipping the hand in the same dish."\* This usage would appear to be one of great antiquity.

I expressed to Hussein Aga a wish for some introduction from him to any friendly tribes in the neighbourhood of Wan, it being my intention at the time to skirt the shores of that lake. He, however, soon made me understand that, from the unsettled state of the relations between the various tribes, if I were to fall in with any at variance with those for whom I carried letters, I might become involved in serious difficulties; but he invited me to come, on my way back from

\* I may observe that basins, with soap and water, are handed round before and after all repasts, and water poured over the hands from ewers.

Persia to the Chader-Kioi (village of tents), if pitched near my route, when he would send persons with me who would procure me a good reception everywhere during the journey.

I took a cordial leave of the friendly chief, and proceeded across the stream called the Khanzi-Chaï, and passed the villages of Aïsu and Zackaï. Reaching Kara-Eineh, a moderate-sized place, where the Menzil Khaneh is extremely small and poor, I passed the night in the open air, which began to be very agreeable.

## CHAPTER XV.

ARRIVED AT KHOI—VISIT FROM THE PRINCE-GOVERNOR—VISIT TO  
THE VIZIER—A PERSIAN RECEPTION—PERSIAN CONVERSATION  
—VISIT TO THE PRINCE—PERSIAN IMPUDENCE—THE KHAN'S  
SONS—PLAIN OF SELMAS—ANTIQUITIES—ANCIENT SCULPTURES  
—JANISARY PRIEST.

THE road lay over heights and valleys, the latter broken by watercourses, chiefly dry, though a few were threaded by streams; and in one a river of some breadth ran past the village of Allah Sheik, which we saw to our left, and continued our course to Zaralu, another village, where we made a halt of a couple of hours in a garden. On again setting forward, we crossed a dry torrent bed, leaving on our right high peaked mountains, apparently of basaltic rock; and on the left a lower range, with a slope from their base to the road. Three villages appeared in an adjacent valley; and further on we entered the pass of Destadereh, where, at an old caravanscrai, the road took another direction, and proceeded up a ravine to the village of Coordooshe, a poor place, but pleasantly situated among green heights, with a mountain range rising in the distance.

Most of the villages in this region were embosomed

in trees, which looked green and refreshing, but were not without their disadvantages, as they harboured mosquitoes and other insects, which wage constant war with the inhabitants. The air in the middle of the day was extremely dry and hot, with a great deal of reflection from the ground; and as our faces were turned towards the sun during the journey, it affected the skin and the eyes in a very disagreeable manner. We found the people at Coordooshe suspicious and distrustful, and, as a sort of guarantee for our honesty, they carried off during the night Yusef Aga's lance, which, according to the custom of his countrymen, he had planted before the house previous to going to rest; nor was it restored until we paid liberally for everything we had had. The Reis Sefeed (literally "white-beard, or elder") who attended on us, and to whom, I believe, the house belonged, then assured me, in the Persian way, that the village and the whole neighbourhood, as well as the inhabitants, were entirely at my disposal. The affair of the lance caused us some delay, but at length we took our departure, skirting the extensive plain of Khoï, till, in about half an hour, we reached the main road. Here a broad rocky valley led us to a fountain, an object we had not seen for some time; and to a traveller from Asia Minor, where fountains are so frequent, the absence of these welcome reservoirs was very striking. But the scene was soon enlivened by other cheerful features, and we passed many gardens surrounded by strong mud walls, and containing a number of fine fruit trees. The whole

country, indeed, had now the appearance alternately of an orchard and a vineyard, dotted with houses, which gradually became more numerous, and at length we entered the suburbs of Khoï. Then we came in sight of the walls, which have more the appearance of a European fortification than is usually found in the towns of the East, the portion nearest the country being enclosed with bastions, curtains, and a ditch. These works were, I believe, executed by European officers during the Russian wars. Those round the town, although presenting a rather imposing appearance, are not really of solid construction, but made of hardened clay, except at the gateways, which are built of yellow and black stone.

The buildings in the town, which we entered through a vaulted passage from the gate, corresponded very much with those of the suburbs, and, from being built of sun-baked bricks, had an earthy, unsubstantial look. The rooms, however, are good and commodious, and the house assigned as my quarters by the governor was particularly clean. The governor was extremely attentive, and shortly after my arrival I was waited on by his nazir, or steward, with civil inquiries from his chief, and instructions to my attendants not to purchase any provisions, as everything would be furnished from the governor's house. Several persons came with presents of fruit, cucumbers, &c., for which, of course, I felt bound to make some return; and this led to such a torrent of presents of the same kind, that I was obliged to prevent their being received. Rather later

some domestics arrived from the Prince-governor of the province, bringing a large tray of cakes, preserved fruits, and sweetmeats. This refection, slight as it was, proved a seasonable supply, as it was nine o'clock before my provider, the nazir, made his appearance with my dinner, when he marched in, followed by a number of servants, bearing pilaws of various kinds, cutlets, stews, fruit, and bowls of iced sherbet, but, as usual, no knives, forks, or spoons.

The following morning I was visited by the governor of the town, son of the Vizier of the Prince who held the post of governor of the province.\* He was quite a youth, probably under twenty; and I discovered that his family, that of Dumbeli, was one of the first in Persia. His father, Hatim Khan, had himself been chief governor of Khoï, until he was superseded a short time before by the Shah's brother.

In conversing with the governor of the town, I expressed a wish to go to the selaum of the Prince-governor, and he proposed that I should go to his father's house, and arrange with him respecting the visit. Readily assenting, we went out together, and repaired to the Vizier's palace, a large building in a court, where long reservoirs for water, running between rows of chinar trees, supplied a number of jets which

\* When I became better acquainted with Persian etiquette, I discovered that the old Khan himself ought to have called on me, agreeably to the usages current among the authorities and our countrymen in Persia; but he evaded the ceremony, on a plea of lameness.

played in the centre, in front of the principal apartments. The old Khan received me with great consideration, and was extremely bland and courteous, evincing, in comparison with the Persians of rank whom I met subsequently, a more than usual acquaintance with the ways and feelings of Europeans.

After some conversation, he conducted me to the garden, where we mounted a kind of elevated stage or platform near a reservoir, surrounded by chinar trees, which flung their grateful shade over the carpets spread beneath. We disposed ourselves on nummuds, formed of a fine Persian fabric of soft felt of various colours, and which here take the place of the Turkish cushions. The Persians sat in the manner of the country, on their heels.

After the heats of a warm summer day, this refuge proved very agreeable; and, indeed, as far as my experience goes, Persia is the only warm country where the evening may be passed in the open air without danger or inconvenience from the chill produced by dews, or from other effects of the atmosphere. We had hardly seated ourselves on the nummud, when the party was augmented by many other guests, including several superior moolahs, or priests, distinguished here by wearing a white turban, instead of the black lambskin cap. They were, as usual, received with many marks of consideration by the master of the house, who was himself a Hadgee, having made the pilgrimage to Mecca, on which occasion he had returned by the route of Constantinople and Asia Minor. The platform was



surrounded by attendants and other inferior persons, who all came close to us, and listened to the conversation, a custom very general in the East. The servants every now and then brought us tea, which was of very good quality, and prepared with a great deal of sugar, but no milk. We were also presented as frequently with the Persian water-pipe, or *kaliaun*.

The conversation was kept up with great animation, everybody taking a part in it, a very agreeable change from the taciturnity of Turkish meetings of the same kind. The language chiefly used was the Turkish of Ader-bijan, which is a different dialect from that spoken at Constantinople, although readily understood by a Turk of the capital, who soon gets accustomed to its idioms. One of the phrases which struck me at once as different, was *Chok yaghshee*, "very well," or "very good," which is never used by the Osmanlee Turks, who always employ for the same response, the words *Pek-ei!* I believe that most other expressions in the language vary equally, though both are recognised dialects of the Turkish. The Eastern dialect is understood and used all along the Araxes, as far as the Caucasus, and on the southern shore as far as Tehraun. At the latter place it is spoken quite as generally as Persian, and even much further south. Turkish is the mother-tongue of numerous tribes, including all the Eeliauts and the Kara-Gozloos, whose name, in fact, is formed of two Turkish words, signifying black-eyed race. The Turkomans, who are widely spread to the east of Persia, and of the Caspian, all speak this tongue ;

and since the Kadjer family succeeded to the Persian throne, it has, although much disliked by the inhabitants of the older Persian provinces of Irauk and Fars, been the fashionable language of the court. Hence it is, on the whole, the most useful a traveller in the East can know.

At this pleasant reception, it was determined that on the following day I should go to the selaum of the Prince; and the young governor and his suite, preceded by lantern-bearers, then very civilly escorted me to my quarters.

About noon of the following day I proceeded to the Dewaun-Khaneh, or hall of reception, where I was met by the elder Khan, attired in a robe of ceremony, and we entered together a long court, planted as usual with rows of trees, and having a reservoir of water, with a fountain in the middle. The Prince was seated near a large open bay-window, in an apartment looking out on the gardens. The Khan made his approaches towards him with great reverence, performing an obeisance, according to Persian etiquette, at all the prescribed corners of the court as he advanced, and at his last bow leaving his slippers on the threshold. It was a relief to me to find that, being in uniform, I was privileged to retain my boots. Ascending a few steps, we entered the saloon through a purda or curtain, and found the Prince at the other end of the room, seated in a high-backed arm-chair; another, placed at a little distance, was assigned to me.

The Prince's appearance was on the whole prepos-

sessing. His costume, although he wore the Persian cap, had more of the Turkish character than is common among Persians, and over his under-dress he wore a long loose pelisse, apparently made of velvet, and bordered with fur. His complexion was very dark, and his countenance reminded me, in some degree, of the portraits of his great-uncle, of hateful memory, Aga Mahomet Khan, but his features were more handsome and manly, and their expression far less unpleasing. His beard, according to the most approved mode among the younger Persians lately advanced to office, was about an inch long. In his demeanour he exhibited that great self-possession and composure which is to be noticed among Persian princes of all ages. We heard that he had received on the previous day a dress of honour from his brother the Shah—the same I fancy which he wore—and I embraced the opportunity, in alluding to the occurrence, to inquire whether the Shah was likely to be at Tehraun on my arrival there. He said he believed not, and that I should find him encamped in some cool situation to avoid the great heats which were now on the point of commencing. I asked if it would probably be at Sultanieh. He said no, that he believed it would be nearer Tehraun, probably at Ferooz-koh, to the east of Mount Demawund. On my departure, I exchanged a few words with the Khan, and promised to go to his house in the evening to take leave.

I had not been long at home, when I received a visit from the brother of the Koordish chief Houssein Aga,

who had by accident met Yusef in the bazaar, and heard of my being in the town. He was a much younger man than the chief, and a fine, good-humoured, manly-looking fellow. The simplicity of his manners was agreeable, after the formality of the Persians, who, civil as they were, lacked the frankness of the Koord. He assured me, with a great appearance of candour, that I was in high favour with his countrymen, and urged me to revisit their tents and make as long a stay among them as I pleased, adding that I might now go all through Koordistan "as a brother." He was on his way back to Byazeed from Tabreez, to which place, he said, he had been conveying several thousand tomauns for the Shah.

In the evening I proceeded, as arranged to the old Khan's, where an incident occurred very characteristic of Persian habits. Before the young Khan took his leave, he asked me whether I thought it would be improper for him, as civil governor of the town, to wear a pair of epaulettes. I replied that it was impossible for me to say, knowing very little of the usages of a country in which I had only just arrived; but that I had remarked in Turkey that the officers of the Sultan, since adopting the European costume, were in the habit of wearing epaulettes. He took advantage of this to say that it would be impossible to do him a greater favour than to put him in possession of these appendages, and that as he was quite sure I must have more of them than I required, I could no doubt make him a present of a pair. I had considerable difficulty

in evading this demand, as he seemed by no means disposed to credit my statement, that as I travelled with very little baggage, I had brought with me only such things of this kind as were absolutely necessary.

Some time afterwards when at Sheeraz, I found a brother of the young Khan holding the appointment of Colonel of the Khoi regiment of regular infantry, a position, perhaps, which might have been thought more suited for the epaulettes than that held by himself, and for whom they were perhaps intended. I am sorry to say I made the additional discovery that none of the family enjoyed an unblemished reputation; and before I left Persia, the old Khan was obliged to take refuge at the sanctuary of Kirbelah, in consequence of serious deficiencies in his accounts with the government.

The reception awarded me at Khoi was, I believe, owing, in great measure, to the wish of the old Khan to conciliate the English, which at this time was a leading object with Persian officials. But it is only just to observe that such hospitality is very general in Persia; and when the host possesses a good kitchen, it is not as in Turkey, where a greasy pilau forms the whole meal, but the fare is sumptuous and abundant.

Having read in Morier's travels in Persia that there were some sculptured rocks near a town called Selmas, which he had not himself had time to visit, I determined, while pursuing my way to Tabreez, to go in search of them. I imagined at the time that they had not been described by any European, and only learnt

on my return to Europe that Sir Robert Ker Porter had paid them a visit, and given a drawing of the sculptures on the rock.

I left Khoī by a gate to the eastward; and as we were likely to meet with Koords I retained Yusef Aga with our party. On clearing the town we turned short to the right along the outside of the ditch, till we reached a considerable ravine formed by a crack in the soil, which, as its surface was quite flat, and it extended some distance, was no doubt produced by one of the earthquakes so frequent in this country. Such a natural trench leading towards the fortress would certainly save a besieging force a great deal of labour.

From this point fields of ripe corn, groves of poplar trees, and gardens teeming with ripe fruit, extended for several miles over the plain. Our way was crossed by a torrent bed, and then by a running stream, the latter spanned by a brick bridge of one arch, and flowing down past a mill. Another stream, running through marshy land, swept past the small village of Boolamass. The plain was well cultivated on both sides, and occasionally dotted with villages, and watered by streams. As we entered the gorge of some heights, I suspected, from the direction we were taking, that we were to the left of our road; and interrogating the guides, found they were keeping the direct route to Tabreez, instead of proceeding in quest of the sculptured rocks. The mistake arose from the whole plain in that direction being called Selmas. Neither my guides, nor anybody we met, knew in

what part of the plain the sculptured rocks were situated, but they said there were some ruins at a place called Eski-sheer, or "the old town," and I determined to proceed there as the most probable locality. We accordingly recrossed the stream, and passing the villages of Surgeh Khan and Kenai, reached some heights, one of which was crowned by an old Armenian burying-ground and a small chapel. A number of rudely-cut blocks, having the appearance of tombstones, lay around. Soon afterwards we entered the road to Eski-sheer, which we ought to have taken in the first instance. A fine old bridge of seven arches, having above them smaller arches springing from the piers, and all composed of solid brickwork, carried the road over the river, the banks of which presented a curious formation of sandy conglomerate, hardening on the surface, and, near the stream, appearing to contain a vast quantity of different kinds of stone. On the right side the conglomerate extended about 100 feet above the centre of the torrent-bed, now threaded by a very scanty stream, and was coated with a layer of sand, rising to about the same height above it. The road was good, and was bordered on the Tabreez side by two rows of large poplars, which afforded an agreeable shelter from the sun. A cross-road, uniting it with that leading to Tabreez, ran considerably more to the east. Passing the villages of Meman-Khaneh-deh and Shoroo-lu, the latter buried among sandy heights, we met some travellers, from whom we learnt that we were four hours from Eski-sheer. At some low heights beyond, I ob-

served on the surface an appearance of salt efflorescence ; and quarries for extracting salt had apparently existed at this spot, but were now exhausted. Leaving behind us the village of Kara Topèh, we ascended a mountain-pass, from the summit of which we obtained a good view of Khoï. Below, on the other side, was a fine and extensive plain, which we descended, and found a fruitful soil, teeming with rich and luxuriant crops, while pleasant-looking villages, embosomed in trees, were seen in every direction.

As we advanced, the great salt lake of Oroomia was visible to the left ; large, dry torrent beds ran towards it from the mountains, and intersected the way. Drawing nearer to Eski-sheer, we observed a single antique tower, standing at some distance from the walls. Its diameter was about thirty feet, and its height, as near as I could judge, between sixty and seventy. I afterwards saw, particularly at Tabreez, a great many ruins of the best period of Arabic masonry ; but this, and another tower at Eski-sheer, presented a peculiar appearance, different from anything that came under my observation. The tower was constructed with great solidity, of the finest brick, closely resembling, in form and dimensions, the brick of ancient Rome, resting at the base on four courses of stone masonry composed of large blocks. A great deal of enamelled brick of different colours, but chiefly of various shades of blue, was introduced into the upper portion of the fabric, which was surmounted by a low dome. It bore a sufficient resemblance to the tomb at Erzeroum, and to the



buildings at Ani, to lead at first to the conclusion that they belonged to the same æra, making allowance for such a difference in style as might arise from the materials; but I was afterwards assured that these towers are of the Seljookian æra, and if so, they are much more recent. The latest buildings of Ani would seem to have been erected about the time of Nushervan (or Chosroes the Great), who lived in the time of Justinian, and gained a victory over that Emperor, A.D. 531. The towers at Eski-sheer are believed to be of the age of Chingis, and with the inscriptions, to be very fine specimens of the Kufic. The brick towers at Selmas, Tabreez, Rheh, &c., are supposed to be all of the Seljookian æra, and, consequently, of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Two lofty doorways, fronting to the north and south, are in nearly the same style as some at Ani, terminating in pointed arches, which are indented in a concave termination at the top in a similar style. The arched portion of the gateway is surrounded by a square and lofty angular door-frame, of probably thirty feet in height. Above is a very rich cornice of the same workmanship, and immediately under the roof a second of greater breadth and richer materials, the interior being divided into compartments terminating in lofty arches.

This structure, like the ruin at Ani, is no doubt a tomb, but yet unopened; and I was confirmed in this impression, by observing at the base, where a portion of the foundation was visible, two small arched apertures, intended, apparently, to admit light and air into

some subterraneous apartment. On entering the tower, I found the floor deeply covered with rubbish, and as there was no opening, was obliged to forego further researches. The walls of the interior were profusely marked with the open hand, a symbol connected with the Mahomedan faith, and those without were covered with inscriptions in the Arabic character, and, as I afterwards learnt, in the Kufic tongue.

The town of Eski-sher, though a poor-looking place, retained marks of antiquity. Many walls, both of gardens in the neighbourhood and in the town, were composed of large sun-dried blocks of clay, containing pebbles of various colours and sizes, which gave them such a granite appearance, that I was for some time under the impression that they were stone. We found the market-place crowded with Koords, many of them mounted and completely armed, riding to and fro. According to Yusef Aga, they were chiefly of the Hekaree tribe, inhabiting the country towards Wan, and were a very truculent and suspicious-looking set. Wan being only about thirty hours distant, we were not surprised to meet these Koords here.

Near the market-place was a minaret of brick, something in the style of the tower. It stood on a square stone basement, but half of it had fallen down.

The Ket-kodah of the village, for whom we inquired, was absent from home, and we experienced some difficulty, as well as delay, in procuring lodgings for the night; but when it became known that it was intended

to pay for the accommodation, a person among the crowd came forward, and conducted us to a house, which appeared to have been recently finished. Though of moderate size, it was very clean, and had the additional attraction of a small garden, containing a number of rose-bushes in flower. It was the property of an elderly female, a widow, who bustled about and put things in order for us, without stopping to don her veil. The females of the nomade races of the East are much less scrupulous on this point than those of the towns, and this was a symptom of our being again close to Koordistan.

We had not long been established in our lodging when the Sooltan, or captain, who had accompanied us a portion of the way from Constantinople, made his appearance. This was his native place, and he had come on to it from Khoï, where he had arrived with the first division of our party about a fortnight before. He evinced no surprise at our appearance at Eski-sheer, as Europeans resident in Persia are in the habit of moving about in all directions, most of them being employed on service. On my inquiring if he knew anything respecting the sculptured rocks, he said that some rocks we had observed the evening before, surmounted by an old Armenian church, were carved with several sculptures, and that he would accompany me to the spot, if I pleased, the following morning. Accordingly he made his appearance soon after daylight, and we proceeded in a south-westerly direction towards some heights of a volcanic appearance, de-

tached from each other, and on one of which, a basaltic formation, the church we were to visit stands.

It is a small but solid building, 25 feet in length by 20 in breadth, and is composed of large blocks of smooth stone. The body of the church is quadrangular, and over the centre is a round tower, of no great height, terminating in a cone. The entrance, a pointed arch reaching half-way up the building, was to the west, and enclosed a doorway of about six feet high. Light was admitted by one or two small windows, resembling loopholes. Within stood a large sarcophagus of white alabaster. Its lid was sculptured, and the most striking part of the device was a winged cross, above which appeared a star and a symbol which might be taken for the moon. These ornaments seemed to have some connexion with those I had observed at Erzeroum, and may possibly appertain to the symbols of the Pakradian kingdom when under Saracenic protection. Near the sarcophagus was a mounted figure, similar to that of St. George, carrying a lance surmounted by a cross, and opposite was a group, including the Virgin and Child, the former bearing a branch upon her shoulder. The other two were in long robes, and the breast of one was marked with a cross.

These were not the sculptures we were in search of, and the Sooltan, on my explaining this fact, said there was another ruin at no great distance, but, as he had only seen it once, he would have some difficulty in finding it. We determined, however, to continue the search, remaining here only till I had taken the bearing

of the north edge of the lake of Oroomia, of which we obtained a good view from the heights. This done, we set off, and after wandering about for upwards of an hour, continually making inquiries of men who were watching sheep among the rocks, we at last discovered the Sooltan's sculpture. He had described it as the countenance of a man, but it proved, on a close examination, to be nothing more than a Greek cross on a knight's shield, a good deal effaced. This was poor compensation for so tedious a search; but it was a satisfaction to have the point cleared up, and we returned well pleased to the town, going round, in our way, by the second tower, which we found to bear a close resemblance to the other. It presented on the inside a diameter of 21 feet, and the walls were about two yards thick. Within the wall was a passage, lighted by arched apertures, and leading apparently to the top.

On returning to my lodging, I found that, during my absence, a Bektash, or Janissary priest, hearing we had arrived from Constantinople, had come to converse with my servant, describing himself as having taken refuge at this place, when his order was proscribed in Turkey, and that he felt very miserable till he could return to the Ottoman capital. He was anxious to know whether Khosrew Pasha, the late Seraskier, by whom the order for the destruction of the Janissaries had been carried out, was still alive, as he looked upon him as the greatest obstacle to his return. He informed us that a Frank traveller had, since his arrival at Eski-

sher, been robbed and murdered by the Hekaree Koords at no great distance from the town, and that they brought his rifle, clothes, and other articles of baggage to Eski-sheer and sold them there. This traveller, I afterwards found, was the enterprising Schultz, a German, by whose death much useful information relative to this part of the East was lost.

## CHAPTER XVI.

DESCENDANTS OF THE PROPHET—SCULPTURED ROCKS—LAKE OF  
 OROOMIA—MALEK KASSIM MIRZA—PERSIAN SALT DESERTS—  
 ZOBEIDA'S TOWER—SUBURBS OF TABREEZ—THE CITY.

WE left Eski-sheer at ten o'clock, and passing through the village of Loor, and over a road intersected by streams, entered Dilmaun, a walled town, with a stone gateway and large bazaar. There, having heard again of some sculptured rocks in a different direction, we made our way over fields towards another road, our guide falsely professing to take us a short cut, though not following the most direct route from the town. This detour was far from being agreeable to the Sooltan, who was accompanying us to Tabreez, and he expressed his sentiments freely to the guide, who, however, instead of making excuses, became abusive, and finished by pelting him with stones. "The Sooltan and Yusef Aga bore this behaviour very patiently, at which I was surprised; but as the guide continued foaming with passion, and seemed disposed to proceed to greater violence, I determined to interpose and rode at him, hunting-whip in hand, on which he ran off across the fields, still continuing his abuse. I soon came up with

him, and, to his evident surprise, applied the whip for some seconds vigorously across his shoulders, bringing him at once to order, and he returned to take charge of his animals, and afterwards conducted himself civilly. I found he had presumed to act in this insolent manner on the strength of his being a Saïd, or one of the reputed descendants of the prophet, who, as they are also of the race of Ali, the favourite prophet of the Shecahs, are regarded here with much more reverence than in Turkey. This accounted for the forbearance of the Sooltan and Yusef-Aga: and indeed I have seen a muleteer in Persia enter and seat himself close to the governor of a province, who has permitted this freedom in consideration merely of his green turban.

After a short delay, we entered the road about 500 yards from the town, and rode on for some distance till we reached some steep and lofty rocks of grey marble, called Aliabad-dagh, near a village of a similar name. The Sooltan, who had been here before, although he had forgotten the way, pointed out the situation of the sculptures, which were perceptible at an altitude of about 50 or 60 yards, and were approached by an ascent strewn with loose stones and fragments. Morfer had been informed that they represented a figure in the act of pointing to a mountain, supposed to be the repository of buried treasure. This description, however, is incorrect, as the sculpture comprises four figures, none of which is represented as pointing. Two are on horseback, and the others are delivering something into their hands; but as this



portion of the piece is, in both cases, much effaced, it is impossible to ascertain precisely what it is intended to represent. The sculptures are evidently Sassanian ; and although in a ruder style and worse executed, than some which exist at Shapoor and other places in ancient Persia, are exactly the same in detail. The two mounted figures have the usual regal symbols, the helmet or crown being surmounted by a globe, and adorned with the streamer-like appendages which distinguish royalty ; and hence may be intended for Shapoor, Sapor the Ist. of the Romans, and his son Bahram, or Varanes. The large tassel\* hanging from the saddle also indicates a royal personage. The only peculiarity I observed in this particular group was, that the beards of the monarchs were very short, and tied below the chin, like those of the gods of Egypt.

The mountain carved with this sculpture stands by itself in the plain, and seems one mass of fine grey marble threaded with white veins. It forms, with the mountains to the south, a narrow pass traversed by the road ; and it is not improbable that some victory over the Romans may have been gained in this vicinity —possibly that of Narses, who defeated the Emperor Galerius, and conquered Armenia. • The pedestrian figures appeared from their relative situation to the horsemen, to be kneeling ; but as their lower limbs were quite effaced, this could be only matter of conjecture. They may possibly represent Roman captives,

\* This seems rather to represent an iron ball hanging from a short chain, which constituted a weapon of that age.

like those at Shapoor. The figures, though not absolutely colossal, are of large size.

The distance from Eski-sheer to this interesting vestige of antiquity is about ten miles, in a direct line; and perhaps the nearest village is Minas. I heard that the Frank traveller, Schultz, who was killed by the Koords, had visited the rocks just before his death.

Our road now was over the plain, which was green and smooth, though marble rocks rose at some distance on both sides. The lake of Oroomia was perceptible to the right, five or six miles distant. At Minas, the village recently mentioned, and a very small place, we made a few minutes' halt, and then, avoiding a tract of moist land, continued our way over the plain, passing several villages, and at length reached Yaoushanlu.

The plain of Selmas, over which we had travelled, is described with much quaintness by a Persian author, Hamdullah Moostapha Kasvini, dating from the year 725 of the Hejira, and his observations are not without interest at the present moment. "Selmas," he says, "is in the fourth climate in longitude from the Fortunate Isles. It is an extensive city, but its walls are now falling into decay. The Vizier of Hadgee-Tadji-deen, Ali-Shah-Tabreezee, built it, and it is 8000 paces in circumference. Its climate inclines to cold, and its water rises from that Oodeea (valley), and from the mountains of Koordistan, and flows into the sea of Oroomia. It possesses gardens, and yields excellent fruit and grapes. Its corn also, and vegetable productions in general, are of a superior quality. Its

inhabitants are inveterate Soonces (curse be upon them!), and are constantly at war with the Koords. There is a deadly and perpetual enmity between them; a natural and hereditary blood-feud which admits not of pacification. Its revenue, payable to government, amounts to 39,200 tomauns."

This description of the city applies, I apprehend, to Eski-sheer, although Dilmaun is now the principal place on the plain, which abounds with villages, and is very populous. There is another description of the district in the memoirs of Eben Haukul, an oriental geographer; and it is also mentioned in Osmane's *Bibliothèque Orientale*.

The road from Yaoushanlu conducted us over a grassy flat, a continuation of the plain of Selmas; and after a time we began again to distinguish the shores of the lake. The plain became very low and flat, appearing sometimes to be inundated, and a strong efflorescence of salt extended nearly all over the surface. Heights, a portion of the chain passing between Khoi and Tabreez, and which the guide called Kavasmass, rose about two miles to our left; and on the right we saw the lake, with an island and an isolated rock rising from its waters. As it was less than a mile distant, I rode down to examine it. The water was extremely saline, as it contains a third more salt than that of the sea; and from the constant deposition, the edges of the lake appeared to be covered with hoar-frost. There was no vegetation within three or four yards of the water, and it is said there are no

fish in the lake, though many of the tributary rivers which empty themselves into its basin, contain great abundance, particularly of trout. I observed some large red birds, with very long legs, walking about in the water ; and on examining them through the glass, I found they were flamingoes.

Leaving the shore of the lake, we proceeded to the village of Khaneh-Deh, and then crossed a broad torrent bed running from a ravine among basaltic-looking heights much decomposed, and which had a very volcanic appearance, the purple-reddish rocks resting on sand and clay. Here two roads leading along the shore of the lake separated, and the guide asked me which he should follow, observing that one was shorter than the other, but that there was no water upon it. I replied, " Follow the shortest, certainly," as it conducted over the plain, not at the moment understanding his reference to the water. But we had now fairly commenced Persian travelling, where the want of the limpid element, particularly in the hot season, becomes a serious consideration.

At a long low point near us the water of the lake was shallow and discoloured ; and we observed another island, or land resembling one, between the larger island and the west shore of the lake. The day was excessively hot and oppressive, with a very strong sunshine ; and both our horses and ourselves suffered much from want of water. The Sooltan's horse, which he had hired at Eski-sheer, became fairly knocked up, and we saw no more of him till after we had reached Tabreez.

The numerous headlands and promontories in sight, as we rode along, gave the scene the aspect of some parts of the Archipelago, and reminded me of Hydra and Spezzia, and other lower islands in the Gulf of Napoli. Not a single boat of any kind was to be seen on the lake at this end, although I believe some miserable vessels of small size keep up an irregular communication between the town of Oroomia and the opposite shore, towards Maraga and Tabreez. We crossed a salt brook running towards the lake, with a great deal of deposit on the banks, which, as is usual with the beds of salt streams, looked like an abrupt crack in the soil.

Our progress over the plain might be estimated at about a mile in 17 minutes, being about  $3\frac{1}{4}$  miles in the hour, which is rather slower, I think, than the usual rate of travelling in Persia, with horse or mule caravans. As we proceeded, a slight mirage was perceptible on our front and left.

We continued all day along the shore of the lake, which, there can be no doubt, might be made to open up a great deal of inland traffic; and during my stay at Tabreez, Malek Kassim Mirza, one of the younger sons of Futteh Ali Shah, conversed with me respecting a design he had in view of building what he called an English vessel, near a place of which he was governor, on the eastern shore of the lake, and making a beginning in this direction. The Prince possessed considerable talent, and had picked up a knowledge of French and Italian, which, in a country where they are so little spoken, was really an astonishing acquisition; and

as he had an excellent memory, he had, through the medium of books, become familiar with many matters connected with Europe, very rarely heard of in the East. At the same time he possessed all the dissipated habits and love of pleasure common to Orientals of rank, and evinced their customary craving after money, as providing the means of gratifying his propensities.

The person he employed to build the vessel, which he designed to accomplish such great objects, was a Maltese tailor, who had settled at Tabreez, and made uniforms for the British and Persian officers. The vessel, a cutter, was to be about 50 tons. Unfortunately for the Prince's object, however, it was never built, and, after an absence of several months, the tailor returned to Tabreez, having entirely reformed the Prince's wardrobe, though he had not even laid the keel of the cutter; and he declared that he had seen nothing in the shape of coined money the whole time, being merely paid for his excursion in pilaws and other culinary delicacies, which he shared with the rest of the Prince's retainers.

As we still skirted the lake, a distant snowy range appeared towards Oroomia, and the soil presented numerous fissures, edged with crystallized salt. There was an appearance of a former shore, some feet higher than the present.

The plain might be looked upon as the most northerly which partakes of the character of the Persian salt deserts; and these wide perpendicular cracks are particularly conspicuous in that part of the great

salt-desert lying between Koom and Tehraun, at the spot called the Malek-el-Moat, or Valley of the Angel of Death, the scene of so many superstitious tales among the Persians, which I afterwards crossed, and heard the usual stories of its being haunted by affrits and ghoules, the latter a kind of "land mermaid," as it has been described, endowed with the Protean attribute of taking various forms.

Soon afterwards we came upon a hot, dry, but apparently fruitful tract, and found the country-people cutting the barley, which was very ripe, and appeared to be of excellent quality. A ruinous walled village to the left proved to be deserted; but at another, further on, we obtained fresh water for the first time since leaving the village of Khanch-Deh, on the other side of this small desert. Being much exhausted with hunger after the extreme heat and fatigue of the journey, we also purchased a quantity of bread, which though baked in the form of large, pliable, flat cakes, universal through the East, was prepared with leaven, and was very white, and of excellent quality.

About two hours afterwards, crossing a torrent-bed from some heights, we passed many gardens and a village, and at length reached Kuze-Khureh, where we halted for the night. The inhabitants, indeed, evinced some reluctance to entertain us, and, after a long peregrination, to the very extremity of the town, we were conducted to a house not only empty and deserted, but at a distance from any other habitation, and it became necessary to assume rather a high tone to procure

better accommodation. This produced the desired effect, and we were admitted into the house of a wealthy Rayat, which was comfortably arranged, but horribly infested with mosquitoes. It was, however, no small satisfaction, after the long hot day's journey, to find a place where we could procure shelter, and have our food properly dressed, being unprovided with the apparatus for this purpose usually carried by travellers in Persia.

Our next day's journey was not so fatiguing. For some time we still skirted the shore of the lake of Oroomia, but ultimately left it behind, and turned towards Tabreez, passing large villages, surrounded by orchards and gardens, till at last we came in sight of the capital of Aderbijan.

The first point of the city which we distinguished was an elevated building of brick, which, from the extreme clearness of the atmosphere, and flatness of the intervening country, was visible at a great distance. It rose to a considerable height above the trees, which formed a dense mass around it; and at first we conceived it to be one of the city gates. As we advanced, we could almost imagine it receded before us, as we seemed never to get nearer; and I at length determined to ride on briskly with Yusef Aga, directing the remainder of the party to join us at the residence of the British Embassy.

Galloping on, the structure, as we approached, resolved itself into an immense quadrangular tower, each front being eighty paces, while the height is said



to be as many feet. Its construction is ascribed by the natives to the celebrated Zobeida, the wife of the Caliph Haroun-al-Reschid. It is situated near the ark or citadel, and is called a palace, but some believe it to have been a mosque. There are cracks in the tower, as if caused by an earthquake. The gardens around the town, which extend for several miles, are planted with vines and trees, many of them loaded with fine ripe fruit.

We reached the gardens about sunset, and passed on to the suburbs of the city, which appeared very populous, abounding with shops well supplied with excellent butcher's meat, and plenty of fine fruit, vegetables, and the principal necessities of life. The exterior of the houses, however, had that earthy, unprepossessing aspect, to which one can only be reconciled by custom, when we become familiar with their interior, which is by no means incommodious, and generally clean.

The suburbs terminate in an open area of about a quarter of a mile in breadth, extending to the ditch which surrounds the walls of the town. In this space were several cemeteries quite unenclosed, and not adorned, as in Turkey, with cypresses or other trees. Beyond rose the town walls, which are of brick, connecting numerous round towers. We proceeded over a drawbridge to the gate, where we found a guard of Persian regular infantry, or Ser-bauz. As we entered the ancient city, the Royal band, which is only to be met with where the Shah, or one of his family, resides, was announcing, with their discordant music, the hour

of sunset. Their instruments consist of a number of brass horns of great length, which appeared to me to give only one note, and an accompaniment of drums equally barbarous and monotonous. The practice of thus saluting the sun, however, is believed by the Persians to be of great antiquity, and is adhered to on this account, although they now possess military music of a decidedly superior character.

As we passed along, the young Shceahs addressed many disagreeable epithets to Yuscf Aga, who received them all with becoming indifference; and we ultimately arrived, without further interruption, at the Residency, a large building, surrounded by a garden, in the midst of the city. Here I found the other division of our party, who had gone on before us from Erzeroum, and were now comfortably established in the Northern Persian metropolis. The evening was of course spent very agreeably under such circumstances, and it was a satisfaction to find that all were well, and that the fatigues of the journey had made little impression on any of us.

During the few days I remained at Tabreez on this occasion, I visited the bazaars, the great mosque, and the other public buildings. The bazaars were mean and dirty, compared with those of the large towns of Turkey, although they seemed abundantly supplied with every commodity, and were generally thronged with people. The latter were a turbulent set, and it was no uncommon sight to see the whole bazaar in an uproar, in consequence of an affray between two hostile

parties, in which everybody joined, as in a row in Ireland, the only difference being that, instead of shille-laghs, the Persians fought with the formidable kummer, or short sword of the Caucasus, which is very generally worn in the north of Persia; and, in fact, these scandalous scenes made the inhabitants of Turkey appear by comparison a civilized population.

At Tabreez I heard of an independent tribe, occupying the country between the Hekaree and Zaab rivers, who are Chaldean Christians, and whose religion, I was informed, on the authority of missionaries who had visited their country, differs but little from that of the Protestant church. They have their own bishop, or high-priest, at Julamerek, a town on the borders of their country, which is extremely mountainous and difficult of access, being generally 9000 feet above the level of the sea, and the highest point in Asia Minor. They pay tribute only to their ecclesiastical head, and permit neither Turk nor Persian to enter the country. They are said to be Nestorians, and have maintained their faith, in this isolated situation, uncorrupted, for thirteen centuries.

About this time, a Mussulman Koord, who had offered some insult to a female, was killed in one of the Hekaree villages; and when the perpetrator of the deed was claimed by his relatives, the villagers resisted the demand, and drove them from the place. But the custom of delivering up a person who has committed a homicide to the relatives of the deceased, which was of such antiquity among the Jews, still exists in the

East, and the relatives generally receive "the price of blood," as it is called, instead of punishing the offender. A revolting instance of this practice occurred while I was at Tabreez. Several men had killed another man in a brawl, and the ringleader was brought into the market-place, and bastinadoed, to extort the amount deemed an equivalent by the dead man's kindred. A large bundle of rods was placed beside him, and most of them were broken in carrying out the punishment, before he agreed to pay the sum required.

The old mosque at Tabreez, and several other buildings there, are believed to have been erected by Holokoo, an immediate descendant of Zinghez Khan, but are certainly the work of the Seljookian era, which was previous to that of Holokoo, who established the Mogul dynasty. The structures at Eski-sheer, and on the plain of Selmas, as well as the ruins of Rhéh, near Tehraun, are of the same date.

There is a *faussebraie* beyond the small work enclosing the ark, or citadel, of Tabreez. Inside are the wall and usual towers, and in their front a pretty deep ditch, having a small thin parapet wall and road behind, about 20 yards broad, and also bastions, with one gun in each face. The brick is all sun-dried, but bad and weak, tumbling in many places. In the left branch of a valley, without the town, at the base of the hills, I found an old ruinous structure, like a fort or castle. It is called the Kalay Raschid—"valorous fort," but perhaps it may literally refer to the Caliph Haroun-al-Raschid. The interior is of un-

baked bricks, but is faced with a stone revetment—a wise precaution, in a country where earthquakes are so frequent. Two towers below, now filled with earth, probably fallen fragments—as the whole country appears to have been torn up by earthquakes—are commanded by another above, which looks over the valley of Tabreez and the surrounding country. The castle may have been supplied with water by a current from the heights at some distance behind. On heights to the south there is a perfect position for bombarding the town. Water runs across it, but in general the country is dry and sterile.

## CHAPTER XVII.

SOOFIAN—POSITION—MEREND—ZAL—TERRIFIC THUNDERSTORM  
 —FERRY OF THE ARAS—QUARANTINE—IMPORTANT PASS—  
 CAPABILITIES OF DEFENCE—FORDS OF THE ARAS—CHARACTER  
 OF THE RIVER—OLD JULFA—NAKSHIVAN—TRADITION OF  
 NOAH—THE PRINCE OF PERSIA—MOUNTAIN SCENERY—ERIVAN  
 —ECHMIAZIA—VISIT TO THE PATRIARCH—TOMB OF MACDONALD  
 —SIRDARABAD—IMPORTANT PASS—POSITION—GOOMRI.

It is not my intention in these pages to enter into a further narrative of the extensive travels I made at this time in Central Asia, which led me to the southern shores of the Caspian in one direction, and to Babylonia and the Persian Gulf in the other; but as I returned to Europe through the Caucasus, paying a second visit to Tabreez, I shall resume the account of my tour from that city; and as I followed the route to Tiflis, by Goomri, which I had approached within a mile in the previous year, this will enable me to complete, from that spot, the description of the Erzeroum route between Goomri and the Caucasus, and to make a few remarks on points of military interest between Erzeroum and the Russian frontier, as well as detail in my progress, particulars of a similar nature connected with the southern bank of the Araxes.

I left Tabreez attended by several servants, and in

three-quarters of an hour crossed the river by a long bridge of many arches, and proceeding towards a gap in the mountains, entered on an extensive plain.

The general appearance of the country was sterile, but it produces good crops. Villages were rare; the soil was salt, and the brooks were brackish. The camel-thorn was of frequent occurrence. The scene, for the most part, was a plain, with mountains in the background, more or less distant. To the left of Soofian there was an appearance of a rich tract dotted with villages. The road throughout was excellent.

Our first day's journey terminated at Soofian, which is a good village, nestling under heights in a fine verdant country. At its entrance we passed Eeliaut tents, and many mares and cattle. The house where we put up had a good Bala-khaneh, or upper storey.

The road from Soofian led us up a valley between mountains, and a green and broad valley was reached by a gentle ascent. We crossed a stream, on which were two mills, at a distance of half a mile from each other; and soon afterwards passed a tumulus, looking like a heap of stones and rubbish. In the valley, which here and there was marshy, we saw some horned cattle, and goats and sheep appeared on the heights. To the north was a position. The road was all very good for carriages. At one point we commanded a good view of a long pass in our front, with a shorter range to the rear, and up a valley above us, but the spot being commanded from the west might be strategically turned. Emerging from a deep chasm in the mountain we saw a

fine old brick caravanserai, with four towers, faced at the base with stone, and the foundations of another old building of stone. A village called Kara-Tepch was discernible up in the mountains, and the mountain-tops were sprinkled with snow. A long descent, crossing occasional spurs and branches of watercourses, led through the village of Deeza into a valley. Merend, with its mud castle on a neighbouring height, was visible in front, peering from among pleasant gardens, watered by clear streams. The country here was much greener, though the trees already showed some withered leaves; and the weather, among the hills, was cool and pleasant.

We reached Merend before our baggage, and the Ket-koda's deputy was at first uncivil. He pointed to a bad quarter in the place, near his house, without a court for horses; but we soon brought him to reason, and he then assigned us a better abode.

Mercnd is a much larger place than Soofian, and contains probably 1000 houses, with bazaars, &c. Its aspect is cheerful and agreeable in the extreme. The houses stand in pleasant gardens, containing many fruit, poplar, and other trees, and the fresh verdure around bespeaks frequent rain. We had, indeed, a heavy shower in the afternoon, and during the night there was a great fall. Things begin here to partake less of a Persian complexion, although the houses and buildings are still constructed in the same style. We were told that Zal was the only village between Merend and the ferry.



On leaving Merend we crossed a delightful and fertile plain, possessing a rich soil, highly cultivated, and the castor-oil plant was seen in very large quantities. From an elevated plain beyond we looked down on Merend, and crossing a bridge, reached a commanding spot, whence we could see all the plain behind. Just beyond was a fine position, looking to the same quarter, but extensive, and destitute of wood. A fine wide flat, well cultivated, terminated in a gorge in the mountains, through which the road ran. Again descending, the road passed some hummucky heights, and over a small rich plain to the village of Zal, situated on the brow of a height. It is quite a mountain village, but not a poor one, and we were received well by people comfortably apparelled, and conducted to a clean cottage. The situation is not very elevated, as water boils at  $202^{\circ}$ ; but it is cold; and the soil, though good and deep, and well watered, produces, we were told, no fruit but apples, and there were but few trees in the village. We saw a number of ploughs drawn by four oxen, with a boy mounted on the leaders. My host here, an Eeliaut, and a native of Fars, in the service of the governor of Merend, was a very civil active fellow, and immediately offered me his house, dispossessing his wife without ceremony, and removing to another tenement. Before my baggage arrived, he brought me a present of melons and apples.

The thermometer would make this place no higher than Tabreez, otherwise, from the coldness of the air

and our general ascent, we could not but have formed a different conclusion. The first part of the day was cloudy, though without rain, but the afternoon was brighter. A dry easterly wind blowing all day parched the skin very much. In the evening there was rain with thunder.

Beyond Zal the road was not bad, though sometimes stony. The valley on both sides is at this point well calculated for the erection of batteries.

Passing over a plain, highly cultivated and very fertile, producing great quantities of hemp, cotton, castor, &c., we encountered one of the heaviest thunderstorms I ever witnessed, with torrents of rain mingled with large hailstones, and accompanied by a cold, cutting wind from the north, against which the tempest moved. The lightning seemed thrown, as it were, in handfuls from the clouds, spreading in every direction in long horizontal zigzag lines, and the roll of the thunder resembled a continued heavy fire of cannon and musketry.

A thunderbolt fell in our front, near the road, and with such a noise and dazzling light that my horse, which was going at a hand-gallop, drew up on his haunches, and, dashing off the road in great alarm, carried me some distance into the opposite fields. When I brought him back to the spot he stood snorting and trembling for some time, with his eye directed to the spot where the electric fluid had entered the ground, and I had considerable difficulty in getting him to pass near it. I can indeed

say, from personal experience, that the reputation for violent thunderstorms, which is attached to the neighbourhood of the Araxes, is well founded.

Soon afterwards the road, before reaching the river, dipped among broken ground, and we found it slippery and difficult from the heavy rain, but as we neared the stream it became more gravelly and smooth. Close to the ferry, on the southern side, was a poor ill-constructed fort, in the usual Persian style, facing the Russian quarantine on the opposite bank.

Crossing the Aras by a ferry-boat, we presented ourselves at the quarantine, a group of ten or twelve miserable mud-huts, dug on the side of the bank. A Russian serjeant, who took possession of us, installed me in one of the huts. Our horses had to remain in the open air, as there were no stables at the quarantine. In the evening a sentinel was posted in front of the hut, where he continued during the night; and I heard him talking to himself and singing in the low tremulous style of the country, and occasionally uttering groans, yawns, and exclamations, and even laughing by turns, as different humours seized him.

The next morning was delightfully clear, and a sharp northerly wind was tempered by bright sunshine. The quarantine is nearly in the centre of a moderately-sized plain, picturesquely bounded by mountains. To the south is the range towards Persia, which here looked bolder than on the opposite side, and was now topped with snow. The mountain range to the north-east was covered nearly half-way down with snow,

while lower ridges, in other directions, were bare to the summit, and still presented the burnt ochry look so peculiar to Persian mountains, and first apparent on the Aras. This has a fine effect as the background of a landscape, giving it a warm purple tint; but removed from other objects it is dreary and distressing. In such a region vegetable and animal life seem extinct, though both are to be found in these mountains. Eagles, hawks, the large mountain partridge, called the cubk-i-derréh, which is the size of a young turkey, and the small cubk, or red-legged mountain partridge, a beautiful variety of the European bird, but having the slate-coloured feathers of the pigeon blended with its plumage, are very numerous, as are many other wild fowls. Among the quadrupeds are the wild goat, or ibex, the wild sheep, wild ass, antelopes, wolves, foxes, &c.; and the vegetable creation is represented by various mountain plants, which thrive during the long droughts of summer, and in winter are buried under the snow.

The pass we had just traversed is one of great tactical importance to Persia, but is, as usual, quite neglected. If seized by Russia—which could easily be done by a *coup de main*—there is nothing to prevent a force from advancing direct to the capital of Aderbijan, without the trouble of the slightest *détour*; for the other heights between the Araxes and Tabreez, though defended by all the forces Persia could command, would be carried without difficulty by a more regular force. There is, no doubt, another pass, if not

more, from the Aras towards Khoi, which an enemy could employ; but everything which causes delay, trouble, and loss to an advancing force in such operations is so much gained, and this furnishes a strong motive for closing direct routes, such as the one described, whenever it is practicable. This pass is capable of easy defence. In the first place, there is a good position for a strong force about three miles from the right bank of the river, consisting of the last and lowest range of heights, which a few redoubts would greatly strengthen. About three miles further back is the commencement of the pass; an excellent road leading between the two points above mentioned, over the plain. The mouth of the pass is flanked by some low glacis-like heights, and behind these it becomes a rugged defile, where columns could only advance with a very small front, while they would be exposed the whole way to the musketry fire of light troops on their flanks, and be occasionally stopped altogether by the occupation of strong points to the front. Permanent fortifications would render it exceedingly strong, and the spot is one which a wise and active government would naturally select as a situation for a *place d'armes*. The great importance of the situation for checking an enemy's operations, the richness of the neighbourhood, and its vicinity to an enemy's country (at this spot not of very easy defence), being all borne in mind, it seems a most eligible site for a garrison town; and there are, no doubt, many other such points along the frontier the whole way from Mount Ararat to the Caspian.

It is unnecessary here to enlarge further on the consequences of the loss of Aderbijan and Gillan (which must go with it) to Persia, as they must be apparent, and a glance at the map will show at once the extreme importance of their jealous preservation. In that frontier country, a large disciplined force, such as Russia could put forth, might go either into camp or winter cantonments at any time, secure of supplies, and on ground where they could act readily; and, from what I saw of the country between the Koflan-koh and Tehraun, I should say that it is one where a mauceuvring (that is a disciplined) army would have greatly the advantage, as it possesses none of those strong points or difficult tracts, which bring combatants of a different character more upon a level. Between Tabreez and Oujan, indeed, there are some heights possessing strength, if skilfully occupied. From there to Miana the ground is all in favour of disciplined troops, such as Persia does not possess. The Koflan-koh pass is very defensible in itself, but it is asserted that both flanks may be turned. It lies between two rivers, the Kizzel Ouzan and a tributary stream.

The Aras is crossed at the quarantine on a kind of lozenge-shaped raft, which can carry six horses and seven or eight men. It has sides of about a yard high, and is rowed across with oars. The distance is apparently from about 70 to 80 yards—Porter calls it 50; but the channel shows it is sometimes much broader. Its present depth was inconsiderable, and there were fords near us at a short distance. The

current was rapid, probably five or six miles an hour.

The river is quite fit for pontoons ; and even during an inundation, its breadth cannot, from the appearance of its shores, be so much as 200 yards. The channel is here well-defined—even the limit of floods, to which the situation of the quarantine shows that it is not very subject. At Khagasman, where I had passed in the previous year, it is very broad, flat, and undefined, and the river is more rapid:

At this spot, the branches between the three islands and the shore seemed, at the present season, to afford practicable fords, and, indeed, the quarantine chief observed that the situation was unsuitable for the quarantine, because the river there could be so easily passed. There are, however, heights on the left or Russian side, which could be readily fortified, and would command the fords and opposite shore. Below the quarantine the river is in general too deep and rapid to ford. Higher up, it is bordered with heights, and therefore most available to a disciplined force ; and this would facilitate the passage of troops or the formation of pontoon bridges at the heights above the quarantine, from the Russian side. At old Julfa, on the contrary, the heights on the right side are quite impregnable from that of Russia, and command a view of everything occurring on it, while they hide the ground in their rear.

I left the quarantine to visit the ancient city of Julfa, which I reached in about half an hour. It contains

many stone buildings, and the remains of an old church and cemetery. A noble bridge, the work of Augustus, once stood here, of which only the abutments and four piers of polished stone remain. From pier to pier seemed about 50 yards. The river at present only passed between one pier on the right bank, and the abutment on that side.

About 300 yards from the bridge is an isolated building resembling a tomb, and evidently an old Armenian work. The interior was heaped with stones. The people said a Russian had caused it to be whitened inside. The style seems to have been a mixture of the Greek and Arabesque, or early Mussulman. The residents in the place, who are the melancholy remains of the ancient Armenians of Julfa, said that the tower and church were both built by a "virgin"—no doubt one of peculiar sanctity—and from pious motives. They resemble one another sufficiently to lead to the supposition that they were erected about the same time.

At the islands here, as the river is so much divided, and its banks so low, no great body of water can ever be forced through any one channel, so as to render the passage difficult. Judging from the breadth of these divided beds, and the appearance of the ripple, they must be shallow generally. On the opposite side, all the flat is distinctly seen from the heights for a distance of two miles. A point just below the old bridge of Julfa seems best calculated for crossing from the right bank to the left, the heights on the former being all much higher than on the latter. A passage up the



valley, not, I think, within range of either ridge, proceeds as far as the main road. Below the quarantine, the river is rapid, running in a deep channel. Both sides are flat, and the middle of the stream is the frontier line.

Having been informed that our probation at the quarantine had expired, we prepared to resume our journey on the following day. The morning was grey and a little cloudy, but the atmosphere was pleasant, and had that moderate degree of humidity which is agreeable to a European.

The chief of the quarantine, mounted on an active little Arab-looking horse, and attended by his Georgian interpreter, accompanied us as a convoy for an hour and a half. He pointed out, as we rode along, the ruins of an old castle or monastery, on the summit of a precipitous mountain over the Aras, beyond Julfa, which I imagine were those of St. Stephen's, shown in Monteith's map, lying, according to that authority, just at the junction of the Dereh Sham River, which flows from Khoi. High mountains continued on both sides, our direction being north by west; and we advanced up a gradual slope till the country, opening on our right, exposed a fine precipitous mountain, the Eelan Dagh, (mountain of serpents,) in advance of a snowy range.

Here a descent began to a fine plain, watered by a river, and we came in view of Nakshivan. The plain is a fine rich tract, but the culture is very limited, and the villages are in no proportion to what ought to exist.

The mountain scenery is picturesque, and the season causing partial showers to pass across their tops from time to time, added to this effect. The road, a splendid natural way over gravel, and quite smooth, is fit for carriages; and we met, what we had not seen for some time, a sort of open waggon, drawn by a pair of good horses. The road then varied a little occasionally, and low heights occurred. The river Aras, which seemed here about four miles to our left, meandered through the plain. We crossed several streams and a dry water-course, descending from the northward, the main branch of the Nakshivan river, but now, from the season and from irrigation, quite dry. Near this spot are the remains of an old brick bridge, of three arches, in a very dilapidated state. We met some hunters who had killed an ibex or mountain goat, as large as a fine fallow deer of eight years old, and having immense horns like a ram's. We bought the two haunches for two shillings, and they proved very good.

Nakshivan, where we soon afterwards arrived, presented a far worse appearance than similar towns in Persia, being in a ruined and very miserable condition. The police-master, although untimely disturbed, was very obliging. He was enjoying the true Russian luxury of a fur-lined dressing-gown, covering a shirtless interior and unwashed skin; and, when I reached his abode, about four o'clock, had probably just risen from the siesta usual among Russians in the south. A few soldiers moving here and there in rusty greatcoats, and an occasional officer riding about with an important

air, bespoke the presence of a battalion of troops. The country people here, adopt the Georgian dress, which, though picturesque, is rather fantastic; and the long pendant sleeves of the shortened outer garment, give it even more the appearance of female costume than the Persian habit, and the men are more smooth-faced and beardless than those further south. Two custom-house officials made their appearance soon after my arrival, but gave no trouble. They were followed by some military visitors, who had all the brusque manner usual in Russian officers, without the suavity I had experienced in the little chief of the quarantine at Julfa, who was of Georgian origin.

The Armenians assign to Nakshivan the traditional renown of being the seat or residence of Noah after the Deluge, and say the word means the "first resting-place" in their ancient tongue. It is three days' journey from Mount Ararat, as persons of the country now travel; but its fine rich plain gives probability to the hypothesis.

Having heard much of the excellence of the Nakshivan melons, I sent for some: they were of the same kind as those of Tehraun and Ispahan, but greatly inferior in sweetness and flavour. Some grapes accompanied them; but though fine and large, they were not comparable in ripe rich flavour to the common grapes found in every garden of Tabreez.

In the evening various bands paraded the town with squeaking pipes and tambourines which, I fully believe, are the very same that were in use among the ancients

in rural life, and a great din they made. They are very fit for such bacchanalian saturnalia, as, from the accompanying shouts, I thought the performers were then celebrating, but it proved to be a marriage festivity.

Our road from Nakshivan led over the fine plain, keeping, at first, a little north of Mount Ararat, now in view, and afterwards passing on heights towards it. A Russian party of an officer and about twenty infantry were just before us; and most of the men, who were heavily loaded, halted frequently. The officer and his baggage-animal kept in advance, and we did not pass him for nearly an hour. About the same time we met some fine showy horsemen in Mussulman costume in the Circassian style, with much scarlet in their own and their horses' equipments. We were afterwards told that these were followers of Hassein Khan, who, when Sirdar of Erivan, delivered that place to the Russians, and entered the Czar's service, but ultimately died at Ispahan, in great want, having proceeded there to endeavour to recover his confiscated property.

After passing some table-land, strewn with quantities of squared-stones, more than a yard in diameter, we entered the village of Gooran, and obtained a clean quarter at the Government stanitza, under the direction of a young Russian serjeant, apparently belonging to some good family.

The heat during the two or three hours previous had been most oppressive, but the road was good, present-

ing occasional heights over the plain, offering positions of passage.

In the evening, hearing horses ordered to be prepared with all despatch for some one at the post-stanitzza where we lodged, I made inquiries as to the cause, and found that a party of Russian soldiers (probably those we had passed), had taken a melon from a garden, or field, somewhere in the neighbourhood; on which the peasant to whom it belonged, had wounded one of them in the thigh with the kummer, or dirk, which they all wear: and as the man had to proceed on his march, no house being near, he had soon bled to death. The horses were for the officer, who meant to pursue the man, who had fled to Nakshivan, and to have him apprehended. The resolute resistance of the Mussulman population here, to any excess of the soldiery, evinces a wide-spread disaffection among them. I heard at Julfa that a whole party of soldiers were soundly beaten at a village by the peasants, for trying to obtain possession of water for irrigation; but, in this region, water is almost as valuable as the crop itself, and is dealt out to the agriculturists in shares, as in Persia.

The morning was again clear, but Mount Ararat, covered with clouds, was seen with difficulty. Crossing a plain flanked by distant ranges, a branch from the main road carried us down a valley among heights at first rocky, and afterwards gravelly, till we reached the river, when we skirted a flat covered with tumuli, and where we observed great flights of dun-coloured wild

ducks. Hence we ascended a ridge with a high gravelly mound running down its centre, and ending in a bridge.

In Monteith's map, one of the best yet published, a good ford is marked on the Araxes, on a line between Nakshivan and Khurseh. This seems a good point for closing that road strategically. Monteith places the ruins of Artaxata at Sood-houd, close to the river, and near a bridge about four hours off. The true site of Artaxata, in my opinion, still remains doubtful; but from the vestiges we saw, there can be little doubt that a town, much more ancient than the Mahommedan era, must have stood hereabouts. The blocks on the hill are very large and massive, and evidently old and time-worn. The bridge has been built of a hard sandstone without, and the inside of the piers filled with large lumps of basalt fastened together with lime. Its situation, at a spot on the river where the banks are high, avoiding the construction of artificial approaches, marks a Roman, not a Persian origin. The same may be said of the structure of the arch, which is wider, and neither of the Persian nor the Arabic form.

At the old bridge we found a Russian guard occupying a hut a little below; and the serjeant in charge, seeing us approach, came out and told us that nobody was allowed to cross the river there. This measure has been adopted to prevent emigration, and to compel all persons coming across the frontier to perform quarantine.

Our course was now towards Ararat, over a plain and

the base of some counterforts, till we reached Shah-Tacht. Here we found an old stone fort, or enclosure, with towers, based, as is often the case at similar places in Turkey, on a more ancient wall of large blocks. A fine stream passes near; and a castle of some kind, as various relics attest, had existed here previously to the present one. As we advanced over the plain, which has a fine rich soil, and is well watered and cultivated, many villages appeared in our front, and we passed through and near several. At Narashine we put up again at the post-station, which is usually the most convenient place on this route.

The next morning was cold and overcast; clouds covering the mountains, and a north wind blowing, awakened a feeling as of approaching snow. Before leaving Narashine I walked out by the brook which flows past, through a very rich alluvial plain. A fine large village, Zaiva-derbend, lies about a mile distant. At nine o'clock we mounted, and resumed our journey, and as there are two roads to Astarék, our next station from Narashine, I went, without inquiring particularly, on that which leads nearest the mountains, lying to the right of the other, as I had heard that the youthful heir to the Persian throne, who had been to meet the Emperor of Russia at Erivan, was to take that road on his return, and I wished to see him. I inquired as to his progress from the first people we met likely to know, and who, as it proved, were in charge of the Prince's baggage; and from them I learnt that he had gone by the lower road, on account, I believe, of his carriage. Accord-

ingly, I struck across in that direction ; but found the plain deep, and intersected with brooks and ditches. At last, however, after nearly an hour of heavy riding and occasional galloping, I caught sight of a cavalcade and a carriage, and made haste to intercept them. Having reached some good turf I was enabled to approach them rapidly ; and crossing a ditch, entered the road close to the escort which accompanied the party.

The young prince, now Shah of Persia, with his immediate attendants, was on horseback some way in advance ; and the carriage, drawn by four horses, was occupied by his maternal uncle, the Ameer-i-Nizam, or Commander of the regular troops, whom I had met before in Persia ; and though it was probably the first journey he had made in such a conveyance, he, as well as a white-turbaned Moolah who sat beside him, appeared quite at home. His reception was courteous and obliging, for the Persians are almost always polite ; and he expressed regret that time and circumstances did not permit a longer interview.

He struck me as presenting a good specimen of an old Persian gentleman,—plain and neat, but costly in his attire ; his beard and joolfs (side locks) carefully dyed of a brilliant black, contrasting with his clear wax-like complexion. The party generally looked very well, and probably included some Caucasians in Russian employ, for I observed that many wore the Circassian dress, so much in vogue even among the Russians themselves in those provinces. On the other



hand, there is an evident tendency to copy Russian style among the Persian employés of Aderbijan. The half-military, half-Oriental costume of Russia is well calculated to attract the Persians; for everything addresses itself to the eye in Persia.

The road, which now passed through a low gorge in the range, is excellent the whole way. Astarek seemed to lie just below the range bounding the plain; but the weather was so bad, with a furious wind direct in our teeth, and piercingly cold, and a thick dark atmosphere, that I could hardly distinguish objects at any distance, and galloping on, I determined to make the day's march short. But though the wind felt so bitterly cold, the thermometer only stood at 45° Fahr.

We reached the station at Astarek at one o'clock. A fine plain seemed to stretch the whole way to Mount Ararat from behind the village. Other mountains, rising to a very considerable height, and covered with snow high up, were at no great distance. The cold increased in the evening; but the chimneys of Stanitza were so intolerably smoky, that we were obliged to put out the fire.

After a severe frosty night, we had a beautiful sunny morning, showing Ararat most clear and distinct to the summit, as if not a mile distant. Its volcanic origin is very apparent from this spot, with the morning sun shining bright upon its crags, and even the great tracts now covered with snow, exhibited the same characteristics in a very conspicuous manner. Its form, from whatever point it is observed, is very imposing; and it

is perhaps the grandest mountain I have ever seen. The smaller peak, which is 8000 feet high, looks very like Vesuvius. The great peak has some resemblance to Etna, but the latter is not so tapering, and has a broader base in proportion to its height. It is above 12,000 feet in altitude.

We left the station at Astarek at nine o'clock, and at half-past four reached that at Ardisheer, a prettily situated village, formerly surrounded by walls and towers of hardened clay, in the Persian style, now much dilapidated, and indeed almost in ruins. It contains a church, which has recently been furnished with bells. Ararat makes a noble appearance from here, rising majestically and at once above the green plain, and having just enough of mountainous scenery near it to demonstrate its immensely greater magnitude.

At this place we found the people beating out their corn in the end of October, just as I saw them occupied in May in Persia, many miles to the south-east; but they keep it stacked in this country for some time previous to threshing it out. The plain here was again covered with villages, but as the one we were in was almost uninhabited, this was no sign of population.

Another delightful clear morning broke upon us, and, indeed, it would be impossible to imagine any weather in early winter more propitious and genial than we now enjoyed. The scenery continued grand and pleasing. The mountains, mantled half-way down

with snow, were dazzlingly white, while the plain below was perfectly green, and over all the sky appeared of the deepest blue. At night the frost was sharp, but as soon as the sun arose the cold was succeeded by a gradually increasing warmth equal to that of an English summer. In the morning there was not a breath of air, everything being perfectly still. Altogether it was one of the endless varieties of climate marking different regions of the globe, and which, like everything else, seem not to be precisely the same in any two instances.

After taking a sketch and some bearings on the plain, I once more mounted, and riding out of the village, crossed a fine river, running in many branches from the snowy range down a deep valley. Sloping heights exhibiting fine cultivation, and dotted with a great number of villages, were succeeded by a sterile valley, and as we ascended higher, the country grew more barren and stony, though a rich plain, with many villages, and pasturing numerous flocks, was visible in our front. From a steep crest we obtained soon afterwards a view towards Erivan, which, after a descent, we entered at three o'clock.

Erivan stands in a strong situation on the left bank of the river Zenghi, an affluent of the Araxes. It is surrounded by old stone works, which, although incapable of resisting long a regular attack, would, if repaired, present a considerable obstacle to a Persian or Turkish army, though on the west side, where the river flows between precipices, they were then alto-

gether dilapidated, and seemed never to have been much beholden to art.

A good stone bridge exists below, on which I remarked that several guns in the fortress were pointed. At a short distance on the right bank are heights, from whence shells might be thrown into the place from heavy pieces. From the bridge we proceeded to the northern portion of the town, which is large, and contains some pretty open spots, sprinkled with trees. There are also some fine mosques and tolerable bazaars, the latter roofed with wood, and containing a good assortment of commodities, principally of Russian fabrication. An old castle close by is overlooked by the town.

Leaving the town we walked towards the river, which flows through a most romantic and rich valley to the west. Its banks on one side are precipitous, and on the other rise in rocky terraces, covered with vines, and, higher up, forming gardens. Beyond, a tract of gardens, vines, and wood, constitute, with the plains and mountains in the distance, one of the most beautiful prospects I remember. Here the Emperor Nicholas had not long before beheld, for the first time, the southern extremity of his mighty empire, extended thus far even in his own reign, the summit of Mount Ararat clearly marking its present boundary.

From Erivan two military roads conduct to Tiflis. The most direct, by Delijaun and lake Goutcha, is about 150 miles in length. The other, going considerably round, skirts the frontier as far as Goomri, where it

leaves to its left the road which passes through Akalzik to Redout-Kalleh on the Black Sea. It then takes a more easterly direction, passes over two mountain ranges, and joins the Delijaun road close to Tiflis. I determined to follow the road by Goomri, in order to examine the fortress which I had seen under construction from the opposite bank of the Arpachai river, on my previous visit to its vicinity.

On leaving Erivan we followed a broad and excellent road, which carried us through a very agreeable country to Echmiazin, which we saw, with its singular isolated churches, at some distance. I proceeded at once to the Procurcur of the establishment, as he is called, to whom I had brought a letter, and found him in the amiable Russo-Georgian dishabille of the siesta. He was an intelligent, *çi-devant*, handsome man, with a bright Georgian complexion and snow-white hair. After some conversation, he accompanied me to the palace of the Patriarch, an enclosure of some extent, with walls and towers, and containing besides the great church and the dwelling of the chief prelate, the senate-house, the library, a printing-office, and a school, as well as a place of lodging for travellers and various other buildings, all clean and neat in appearance. After a short delay, to allow most probably for preparation, the Procurcur conducted me to the presence of the Patriarch, whom I found seated in much form, at the head of a large apartment on the patriarchal throne under a canopy. In the room were various other high ecclesiastics, who occupied chairs on each side. The Pro-

cureur, as well as every one present, treated the Patriarch with an extraordinary show of respect, bowing most profoundly and kissing his hand, and the merchant, to whose care one of the letters I had brought from Tehraun was addressed, presented it to the Prelate on his knees. The Patriarch, who was habited in long robes of purple velvet, wore on his breast a large star in jewels—a Russian order—and his headgear was adorned with a diamond cross. The room was luxuriously fitted up, the windows of stained glass, hung with curtains of damask, admitting a subdued light on the rich Persian carpets.\* In a hall through which we passed, there were several daubed representations of Armenian kings, very handsomely framed, and said to have been taken from effigies, found in old manuscripts; and, at the top of the apartment, a portrait of the reigning monarch of Russia, now, I presume, considered sovereign also of the ancient Armenian kingdom, stood out from the wall—the eternal boots of the Czar in this instance peering from beneath imperial robes. The whole figure, a greater daub in execution than any of the others, had a mock-heroic air and expression rather ludicrous. The portraits of Futti Ali Shah and his sons, which abound in the Persian royal buildings, are in their own way greatly better than that of the Russian emperor.

It is interesting to compare the actual state of this

\* I had lately an opportunity of observing at Jerusalem and several other places in Syria, that the Armenian ecclesiastical establishments there, also under Russian protection, are similarly fitted up.

ecclesiastical establishment with what it was when Morier described it, at the time of Sir Gore Ouseley's visit. The Patriarch and all his ecclesiastics, then humble and submissive, came out to meet the Ambassador on foot: now he received letters on a British Minister's business from a person on his knees. It is evident that a part of Russia's policy is to place the Armenian Patriarch on the footing of the highest dignitaries of her own church, and good policy it is; for the Armenians are much gained over by these marks of consideration. The disgust of the Mussulmans is in proportion; but to this no weight is attached, as the object of Russia is to establish on the frontier a population solely Christian.

The Patriarch was a venerable figure, though a long white beard, with his imposing costume, disguised a rubicund and somewhat ordinary countenance. He was very hospitable, and his manner was kind. He expressed a desire to meet fully the wishes of the ambassador respecting the monument of the late Sir John Macdonald, which is placed in a very conspicuous and honourable situation, near that of his predecessor in the patriarchal chair, on the right hand of the portico of the church, to which it is indeed ornamental, being a chaste and classical cenotaph of Carrara marble, with an inscription in three tongues, Persian, Greek, and English, as follows:—"Here are deposited the remains of Lt.-Col. Sir John Macdonald, K.L.S., who died at Tabreez, on the 10th of June, MDCCCXXX., in the fiftieth year of his age, when Envoy Extra-

ordinary from the Superme Government of British India to the King of Persia. In testimony of their estimation of important services, ably and successfully performed, under circumstances of unusual difficulty, the Court of Directors have erected this monument to his memory."

No more becoming place of sepulture could have been selected than Echmiazin for the mortal remains of Sir John Macdonald—I believe his own choice; and all who have read the account of his wanderings through the Ottoman Empire,\* and his Persian memoir, must, I think, consider it a judicious one. His ashes repose, as it were, on the threshold of Asia, the scene of his useful life, passed, as he himself describes it, "among the storms of fortune,"—and on the nearest spot where the Christian faith, though far from pure, is free and dominant.

The original church is said to be more than fifteen centuries old. The style within reminds one of the oldest Italian churches: without, it has the fretted semi-Gothic aspect of some of the buildings at Ani. The interior is dark, and requires repair. There are several pictures—one of Christ receiving the children, a gift from Sir Robert Porter, executed, I believe, by his own pencil, and a Madonna and Child, crowned and jewelled, presented by an Armenian artist. On the wall to the left is a stone with a Greek inscription, apparently sepulchral. It displays the Greek cross,

\* He was better known as a traveller, under the name of Macdonald Kinneir.



surrounded by a scroll, invoking a blessing on all the people of God's church; below is another invocation, seeking pardon for the sins of His servant, the Archimandrite Daniel, with the Jewish monogram I.C.K. Behind the church I came on a row of very ancient stones, resembling tombs, curiously carved with crosses. At the east end of the building, in rear of the palace, stands the senate-house. The laws of the Armenian church are preserved here, and on a table, in a gilded case like a Parisian clock, is the charter in Russian from the Emperor, conferring, I was told, various rights on the church of Echmiazin.

I was very hospitably lodged in the portion of the palace appropriated to travellers, and the Bishop,\* next in rank to the "Intendant," I was told, of the establishment, who was himself indisposed, and a talkative Bishop from Persian Julfa, who, I was afterwards informed, had been obliged to leave that ecclesiastical locality in consequence of irregularities in private life, did me the honour to keep me company at dinner.

The library contains some curious Armenian manuscripts, as well as many books in that language, several of the former were from 400 to 600 years old, and a number were illuminated, including some of the New Testament, executed 400 years ago at Constantinople. The old Armenian manuscripts are in the finest character. The character now used, it appears, was

\* In the Armenian church, neither the rank nor the functions of a bishop seem to correspond with those of the same dignitary in the Roman Catholic and other western churches

invented, about 900 years ago, by a monk, who, it is said, also invented the Georgian alphabet, and two others. The collection had but few books, and was in other respects very slender. At the printing-office, which we visited next, we found several presses at work, printing theological productions. The school, which was conducted by an Armenian brought up at Moscow, finished our round, and was not the least interesting visit, though the schoolmaster had only arrived a month before, and pleaded this as the reason for his having so few classes at work. At present, the teaching was confined to Armenian; but Latin, Russian, and even French were contemplated. The rooms were clean and well kept, like those of such institutions at Petersburg, Moscow, &c. The master seemed an intelligent man, and intended, he said, to explore the old manuscripts in the library on Armenian history, an interesting and wide field for research.

After this agreeable halt we resumed our journey, and the road sweeping to the left, to avoid the higher ground, traversed a finely-cultivated tract, crossing several water-courses and brooks, and at four o'clock we reached Sirdarabad. Here there was a very good station-house, which was well fitted up, having been prepared as a sleeping-place for the Emperor on his journey, who dined and passed the night here. The best room had the unwonted luxury of window curtains made of green silk, and chairs covered with the same, brought here expressly for the occasion. The building, which was new, was larger than usual, and had pro-

bably been made of the exact size required for the Imperial suite. Sirdarabad has been walled with unbaked bricks like the Persian villages. The walls stand and have been repaired, but the town has disappeared. A few houses, indeed, still exist, inhabited chiefly, I believe, by Armenians from Byazeed.

In pursuing this route, it is evident, on reference to the map, what have been the motives of the Russian Government in tracing their frontier line with the vanquished nation; for as soon as the river Araxes becomes a bad frontier, from the plains extending on its banks, then, instead of a narrow strip of land at the base of mountains at the Russian side, Mount Ararat and its chain become the boundary—on the plea probably of its having been part of Persian Erivan, but in reality in order that no remnant of Persia should remain between Russia and Turkey, so that she might be close to the passes leading into that country. To a nation advanced in the art of war, the possession of one half of a pass leading into the territory of a people who are not so, is nearly equivalent to possessing the whole. The pass, which we saw distinctly all this day immediately to the west of the great peak of Ararat, and conducting direct to Byazeed, by which route the Russians entered Turkey, is one of peculiar importance, being, from what I could see of it from both sides of the mountains, of very easy passage for disciplined troops, and to the south of these mountains the road forks into Turkey and Persia. In short, it conducts in one day's march or less from the Russian frontier to

Byazeed, which point once gained, the communication between Erzeroum and Tabreez would be cut off by that road, and an easy passage secured for the Russians to either of those places.

The road on which I was now travelling continued excellent as far as Goomri, having been made in a manner by no means expensive, and which might be adopted in many parts of Turkey and Persia to render the ways fit for carriages; for the rock in those countries generally lies very near the surface in the plains, and often above it in the mountainous districts. Where the ground was flat, the loose stones, often of large size, had merely to be removed from the surface, for a space of about thirty yards in breadth, leaving the gravelly soil beneath to be beaten into a hard way, which in so dry a country very soon occurs; and where the road crossed rocky heights the ground had been levelled with the pickaxe, gunpowder having been seldom required even in removing the larger masses.

This is the mode adopted by the Russians, chiefly with a view to the movement of troops, stores, &c., and I believe the whole route from hence to their nearest posts on the Black Sea has been thus improved. Even in its former primitive condition it was made available for forwarding reinforcements sent at short notice, by water, to act against the Persians, showing how important to Russia, even here, would be the undisputed command of the Euxine. Various roads branch off to the south-west towards Persia and Turkey by Byazeed, the passes of the Soganlu-Dagh, &c.

From Sirdarabad there is a gradual ascent, which afterwards becomes steeper, but is still an excellent road, about thirty yards wide.

Crossing heights, we arrived at an old fortress, in a fine commanding situation, near a small stream. On entering its octagonal enclosure, which has about 160 yards to each face, and is composed of the inferior masonry used in Turkish works, I observed that it was a far more recent fabric than an old building in its centre. There were a good many remains of small buildings, and the place is about as defensible at this day as many which in Turkey are reckoned tenable. A gateway, which enters through a tower, has three Persian or Arabic arches within, and in the centre of the area stands the singular building above-mentioned, which has evidently been a place of great strength. It exhibits very fine masonry, and is surrounded by a succession of round towers and connecting walls, forming a smaller enclosure, like the outer one, but better executed. Within, again, is a building composed of round and angular towers, and nearly over a door on its southern side is an inscription—I think in Kufic. The door opens to a square arched cell of solid stone, with a stair conducting to the upper apartments, but now broken and blocked up. This ancient castle and the neighbouring remains have received from travellers the name of Talys, but was designated by our guide as Tali Boghli. Porter says there is an old Armenian convent ten miles to the westward on the Aras. From this ancient stronghold the lofty mountain of Ali

Ghuz, which forms a marked feature in the landscape, bears about north-east. An area to the north has evidently been enclosed by masonry; and on leaving the fort I observed there several strong old round towers in the same style, and an ancient cemetery, full of tombs grown over with moss, which are all that remains of a former city. At an hour's distance over a plain we passed an old town, still called Talyn, where there are two Armenian churches of large size.

Our course now lay over an elevated snowy plain, but where there was good wheat still uncut, and apparently a tolerable soil. Descending a ravine, we were overtaken by darkness while we were still on the plain, but soon reached a miserable Koordish village, full of cattle and dogs, where we passed the night. We had this day crossed some branches of Mount Alighuz, the summit of which, lying to the right, is 10,000 feet above the sea.

We set out in the morning for Goomri, which we saw bearing nearly north. Skirting a small mountain which extends along the right of the road, we passed in about a couple of hours through the village of Karaklissa, near a stream, where there is a small position fronting Goomri, and soon afterwards reached the vicinity of that fortress. As it was Sunday, and the workmen were absent, I determined at once to see as much of it as I could, feeling pretty certain that the authorities, when aware of my presence next day, would oppose obstacles to my doing so. I accordingly left the road, and striking across the country, ascended

the plateau on which the fortress, then under construction, stands, near the horse-shoe work I have before alluded to; and passed a Cossack guard within, who seemed doubtful as to whether I ought to be allowed to proceed—but I, as usual, wore a kind of travelling military costume, and they probably took me for a Russian. I entered and rode along the interior of the southern front of the intrenchment until I reached at right angles to its western enclosure, consisting of a large range of casemated buildings, still unfinished, and terminating the fortress on that side. Within this, some portions of the old castle, which formerly stood here, were being repaired as barracks.

I proceeded along the inside of the northern front, and having had an excellent view of the whole of the interior of the works in progress, directed my steps across the ravine, separating the plateau on which the intrenchment stands from the height, on which is spread the old open town of Goomri. Entering the town, I repaired to the Post-house, where I dismounted, and then visited the Commandant. He received me with civility, conversing fluently in German, and invited me to dinner, where I met several officers and some Georgian ladies, with whom they ~~had~~ allied themselves. There was also among the company a Prussian gentleman named Koch, whom I imagine to have been the Caucasian traveller.

As the officer in command, although receiving me with courtesy, had, as I expected, declined giving me permission to enter the works, on the ground that it

was forbidden, I devoted the following day to making a minute examination of them from without, so that I am enabled to describe the plan and progress of the fortifications at that period with tolerable exactness. The town itself stands on an eminence, and immediately to the south is a more elevated table-land, from which it is separated by a deep rocky ravine. Towards the east the ravine gradually becomes more open and less precipitous, and, turning southwards, is lost in the valley of the Arpachai. The south front of the plateau, which looks towards that valley, hangs over a steep edge of rock; and the west front, where I had entered the casemates on the previous day, may be looked upon as the gorge of the position, the ground here being perfectly flat, and connected, without impediment, with the rest of the elevated plain. The interior space is upwards of a mile in length, and may average something more than half a mile in breadth. The large stone work first mentioned, which stands at the south-east angle of the place, is a mass of excellent masonry, about 30 feet in height, as far as the eye can judge, and nearly 300 in diameter. As I have before observed, it is shaped like a horse-shoe, having embrasures pierced for cannon, distant about three feet from its base, and about thirty in number. The intervals were loopholed for small arms, and a second row of larger loopholes is seen above the embrasures, commanding the steep glacis, which, on the eastern side, commences five feet from the base of the building, without ditch or covert-way, and runs down to the road, distant about 20 yards;



while on the western side the embrasures and loopholes sweep the interior of the intrenchment, of which this work may be considered the citadel. Its exterior wall is about five feet in thickness, and is composed of that description of masonry which is used for the revetments of the best fortresses. Having seen it in progress in the summer of the previous year, I may describe its roof as resting on arches, which are, most probably, bomb-proof. The work now finished was occupied as quarters for troops.

Immediately to the north of the horseshoe are two other works, the first of which will have the form of a bastion, or ravelin, and the second resembles the half of a star-fort; their gorges opening to the interior of the great platform, and their faces commanding that part of the ravine which lies to the east. These two works are not revetted, but are strong and well executed. The south side of the enceinte was in an unfinished state, and apparently meant to be a line of alternate redans and small bastions, composed of earth, and brought to the edge of the natural scarp of rock which fronts the Arpachai river, distant about two miles. Workmen were busily employed, on the second day of my visit, in scarping away the front of this rock, so as to form it into a natural revetment below the earthen parapets, resembling, on a smaller scale, some which exist at Malta. The rock seems sufficiently solid, and will form a scarp, which it would be very difficult to batter down; I therefore imagine it is not intended to construct any counterscarp or glacis. The north front,

then also unfinished, appeared to be constructing on a similar plan, directly over the deep ravine, and connecting the star-fort with the west front of the place, which contains the casemates, and being the most assailable side, has been fortified with much more regularity than the others. It is constructed entirely of masonry, and is in the form of a hornwork, having numerous loopholes for musketry in the face of its north half-bastion, as well as in the curtain; and in the face of the south half-bastion are large embrasures for cannon, which will occupy the casemates on that side, and command the plain before them. In front of the curtain, a ravelin had at that time been traced out, the foundation being dug, but nothing more done; and this excavation enabled me to see that the rock lies here at a depth of about four feet below the surface. I imagine that the ravelin was also intended to be of masonry, but necessarily of less elevation, and to be also without a ditch; and what confirms the supposition, is the circumstance of the left half-bastion being pierced at its base, as I have said, with embrasures, which would be rendered useless if a counterscarp and glacis were to be raised up in their front. As they then stood, they would command the ground before them, where approaches could be commenced by besiegers at a much greater distance than before the north demi-bastion, beyond which the ravine occurs, and would therefore interfere with an attack. The salient angles of both the half-bastions rest on precipitous slopes, but that of the ravelin will be assailable in the usual manner from the plain.

This intrenchment—for so it ought properly to be called—although not a regular European fortification, may be reckoned a strong and extensive place of defence, with reference to the country where it has been erected, and the condition of the military establishments of neighbouring States. Although the works at Goomri are constructed with a weak profile, and the masonry not covered by a counterscarp and glacis, there is little chance of this being turned to account by the Turks, who seldom besiege a place in form. On the plain on the western side there is sufficient earth to carry on an attack, but the surface is perfectly flat.

This place, there is too much reason to fear, will yet, with the fortress of Akalzik, give Russia military possession of the Pashalic of Kars.

It should be remarked, that to the north-east are heights detached from the other high ground, and almost as high as that on which stands the fortress. One of these is only separated from the horse-shoe work by a narrow gorge, through which runs a road to the ford. All are within cannon-shot, and are about the same elevation. On the south side are other heights of similar altitude, but behind which troops might be covered from the fire of the place. Within the area of the intrenchments it appeared that various strong buildings would be constructed for the accommodation of troops and stores. A considerable quantity of heavy artillery for the fortress had already arrived, and everything bespoke a determination to lose no time in bringing the works to a completion.

On the second day of my visit I observed that there was no portion of the works which was not crowded with workmen busily employed.\*

I heard here of an occurrence which took place in this locality on the Emperor's visit, and which I can quite believe, being so perfectly in keeping with the Oriental character. A peasant was observed digging something like a grave close to the road, which attracted the Emperor's attention as he passed, and ordering his carriage to be stopped, he inquired what he was doing. "Digging my grave," was the reply; "for your governors have taken all I possessed." On which the Emperor is said to have inquired into and redressed his grievances. From all I could pick up here, my conclusion was, that no general attack can be ever intended on Circassia, the subjugation of which was evidently looked upon as the work of years. It was stated that there was no supreme chief in that country, round whom all the tribes of the Caucasus could rally. Their arms were described by the officers as excellent, their rifles carrying twice the distance of the Russian weapons. One officer told me that if they had a few regular troops, and some artillery, they would be exceedingly formidable. To draw out his opinion, I said I had imagined that they were very irregular, and far from being for-

\* No expense, indeed, was spared, and we know that these works were afterwards completed; and that the new fortress, since called Alexandropol, is a strong place, at a point on the Turkish frontier, where there is nothing but the antiquated and dilapidated town of Kars to oppose it.

midable at present ; but he replied that they were less irregular now than formerly, and were improving rapidly.

I heard at Goomri that the Emperor's visit to Tiflis, some time before, had caused great consternation there. All had been prepared for rejoicing and parties of pleasure, but one of his first acts was to degrade Alexis Dadianoff, a Mingrelian Prince and General Officer, married to a daughter of the General-in-chief, whom he accused, in an assembled circle of troops, of "committing even greater abuses than others." The Russian service, he observed, permitted certain emoluments to Commandants of corps, in consequence of the smallness of their pay and allowances, and abuses even greater than elsewhere had been winked at in the Caucasus ; but lately these had been carried beyond all reason and moderation. "I have heard all," he said. "The acts of none call so loudly for reprobation as those of the son-in-law and aide-de-camp of the Governor-in-chief, although he was not alone." Whole corps had even been employed as shepherds and pig-keepers, and in driving the Emperor's horses in hackney-carriages in the streets of Tiflis, while he thought they were engaged in his service. The Prince was stripped of his epaulettes and decorations, and sent into banishment.

As regards the frontier towards Erzeroum, the range of the Soganlu-Dagh may be said to extend to the Araxes between Kaghasman and Hassan-Kalleh on the right, and by Barduse towards the Pashalic of Akalzik on the left. The passes are strong and difficult, and if properly occupied ought to arrest an advance towards

Erzeroum from the plains of Kars, which are now thrown open to the Russians by the acquisition of Akalzik, Achalkalakeh, and Goomri.

Akalzik is described as rather intrenched than fortified, and as having an *enceinte* consisting of a tower and four bastions, built of sun-dried brick, a very friable material, with some wooden towers, palisades, &c., and is armed with about twenty guns. On the banks of the Poshko river, on which the town is situated, there is an irregular citadel, with double walls and towers of stone, and to the west is an older castle. These works were furnished some years ago with forty guns, but all this may have undergone change since that time. Akalzik is a place of great importance to both Turks and Russians, as it stands at a point where the road from Poti and the Russian frontier on the Turkish side of the Black Sea branches out towards Tiflis and Goomri. If, therefore, the Turks could regain possession of this town, it would open to them the route from Batoom towards Georgia and Erivan, and serve as a base for operations against the Russians, while it would afford Kars a more direct communication with the sea. Russia, quite aware of these facts, covets very much the possession of Batoom, which commands the valley of the Chorok as far as Baïboot, though that route is still bad.

If Russia were to acquire Batoom it would also open for her a direct caravan trade from the shore into Persia, without passing through any part of the Turkish territory, a great desideratum. But as long as she is shut out from the sea there is no danger of her adding that

sea-port to her dominions ; and in the event of peace, it is to be hoped that the treaty on which it would be based may rather diminish than extend the limits of her frontier line. Batoom, like many other places on this coast, is unhealthy, and any troops disembarking there should be sent up the country as speedily as possible.

The road which I took from Kars to Toprak-Kalleh might, with the co-operation of the Koords in its vicinity, be rendered unavailable for the Russians, if they should occupy Kars ; and this would be important, as cutting off their communication with any parallel column, advancing by the Persian road from the direction of Erivan, the chain of Ararat afterwards intervening to the eastward between the two routes.

As regards Goomri, though it may probably have been further strengthened since my visit, a regular force would not be stopped in carrying on successfully its siege operations against that place, by either its natural position or its artificial defences. On the other hand, Kars, when I saw it, was only surrounded with old walls, built in an obsolete style and much dilapidated ; but report says that it has recently been strengthened with works of a more modern description, erected in advance of its previous defences towards Goomri.

On leaving Goomri I passed over a fine flat with hills in front, and having a rich soil, well cultivated, and growing grain. I saw numerous villages, and from the crest of a counterfort, obtained a good view of a plain beyond, and of a valley full of corn-stacks. Early in the afternoon we reached Beg-kend.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

CAUCASIAN VALLEYS — GHERGHER — DIFFICULT COUNTRY — AN  
 ITALIAN VAGRANT—TIFLIS—THE FORT—SITUATION OF THE  
 TOWN—VISIT TO THE GENERAL—AN INDIAN ADVENTURER—  
 MURDER OF GREBAYADOFF — MITCHEXA — THE CAUCASIAN  
 RANGE—GEOLOGICAL CHAOS—PASS OF DARIEL—VLADIKAVKAS.

FROM Beg-kend the road proceeds eastwards over the plain. Two other roads across the top of a hill join on the other side. A descent, steep and zig-zag, passing Haman-lu, a large village, afterwards takes an easterly course down a delightful mountain valley, and across a fine stream flowing between banks clothed with rough brushwood, and rapidly increasing in size. Picturesque hills and rocks here and there, with high mountains behind, covered with wood, form, with other points, quite a European scene. Several villages occur on the right bank of the river. A very narrow and rocky valley, threaded by a stream, is succeeded by an extremely steep and high mountain covered at top, where it was very cold, with thick mist and hoar-frost. Hence we descended into a fine forest of oak, and at four o'clock saw before us two villages, on either side of a pointed height terminating two forks of a valley. Entering that to the left we found it was a Russian



military station, built of wood, and occupied by at least 1000 men. The houses, many of which were painted white, were of wood, and the place had the appearance of a strategical point of consequence. Here for the first time since passing the Aras sentinels and soldiers were in full dress—that is, not enveloped in the dingy great-coat and foraging cap. Finding no Commandant at hand to give information, and fancying that we were to the left of the Ghergher road, we made for the other village, a perfectly Caucasian one, the houses being in the ground, and I found myself riding over one, rather a dangerous, though not an unusual position in these regions. Alighting at another, I succeeded, with the Yuz-bashi's assistance, in establishing myself in the interior, and had plenty of wood put on the fire, and the floor swept and covered with clean hay, making the place tolerably comfortable, notwithstanding the cold.

This village is Armenian ; but there are some Musulman villages in the neighbourhood. These fine valleys, if a specimen of the mountainous part of the country, give a favourable impression of it. They are something like those on the south shore of the Crimea and the mountainous part of Bulgaria, though on a larger scale, and the scenery retains nothing of the Asiatic character. The road, which is quite fit for carriages, though steep and uneven, shows a succession of strong points, forming a very difficult country. We met several tilegas, and some strings of return post-horses, as well as a great many waggons loaded with forage and fire-wood for the garrison of Goomri.

Each house here pays two roubles annually, and the inhabitants must work at road-making, wood-cutting, &c., unpaid; but this is generally required in seasons when they are not employed in field-labour. The horses, cattle, &c., are subject to the same requisitions; and there seems to be no fixed rate for the payment of their horses when employed for the post on extraordinary occasions. Marriages pay a due to government, two or more roubles, according to the means of the parties, but, strangely enough, nothing is paid on births.

The neighbourhood of Ghergher has a fine soil, carefully cultivated, terminating in a succession of mountain ranges, enclosing valleys of considerable breadth, which abound in long grass, while the mountains are covered with wood. The situation of the two military stations is well chosen.

From the last station there is a post-road to Gelalogloo, and in a valley below the latter place we could perceive another station. We crossed by a good wooden bridge a river apparently fordable, running in a precipitous rocky ravine, which became still deeper below. Debouching on a plain, we passed up a highland glen, between smoother-looking mountains, where there were plenty of cattle. Hyderbek, an Armenian village, is considered half-way between Tiflis and Goomri, and 18 versts from Ak-kiopri. This village is like Ghergher, built nearly level with the ground, on a slope. Only one house, that of the magistrate, has any stone masonry; and the room assigned to me was under the

same roof as the cow-house, from which it was only separated by a wall three feet high. It had, however, a good chimney, and each compartment of the tenement had a hole in the roof to admit light, notwithstanding which it was dark, as well as smoky and dirty, and the whole structure was poor and decayed. The house at Ghergher had abounded in fleas, and this was, in that respect, equally well provided.

On our leaving Hyderbek it began to snow from the north, and grew very thick. Descending gradually from the mountains by a slope, over a rich muddy soil, we passed a miserable post-station, occupied by two or three barbarous Calmuck-looking Russians, and on the other side of the road, a cottage tenanted by Georgians, who appeared far more civilized. Reaching Oprit, the Yuz-bashi, after a little hesitation, assigned us a passable lodging. This was one of the ten villages to which settlers had been attracted by promises of land, &c., from Baïboot, beyond Erzeroum, by Paskiewitsch, and which are insured a free carrying trade. The people, who are Greeks, say they are very uncomfortable, and regret the change. The Greek they speak is much nearer the ancient (indeed, I believe, is almost all old words), than that of the Levant Greeks, as is that of the Trebizond neighbourhood.

This is again a difficult country. The road, although tolerably laid out, is badly made, but there are abundance of materials at hand for repairing it. A fine stratified limestone seems the general formation. The road down the valley, after descending the mountain,

passes through a rich forest scene, with patches of green turf now and then, like a highland park. One or two ruinous chapels and cemeteries attest that the country was formerly far more populous. The climate here became sensibly milder; many of the trees were green, and several were studded with pink blossoms, while hyacinths and crocuses attracted the eye, and the colours of the woods were as bright and various as in North America—brown, dark-red, and occasionally yellow and green patches, recalling to mind the autumnal tints of that fine region.

The people at this place were extremely ignorant in respect to distances, and seemed unable to compute either time or space. The introduction of Russian versts appeared to have added to their perplexity. We met here an Italian from Milan, travelling with two Russian soldiers on foot, and who asked us for charity, alleging that he had come as far as Erzeroum with two French naturalists, and had there lost his finger by a gun accident, and being frightened by an alarm of plague, was making his way to Tiflis.

From Oprit we passed into a wood, where by mistake we got out of the post-way, and found ourselves in a perfect slough. At length we regained the road, which entered a valley finely wooded, but every object was obscured by a thick fog and rain. At Shoolcbereh, we found another barbarous post establishment, with two or three Cossacks and numerous pigs. I had obtained at Erivan Prince Bebatoff's order for post-horses, which now I wished to turn to account, so as to arrive the

same night at Tiflis, but although we saw about twenty horses in the stable, the post-master refused to assist me. I was obliged, therefore, to continue the journey with my own jaded animals.

The country from this point was broken by heights and valleys, apparently of great fertility, planted with vines, and watered by streams. Numerous flocks and herds, the chief wealth of the inhabitants, were observed, and roads branched off in different directions. The population appear to be of Eeliaut descent.

We were obliged to halt for the night at Kizzil-Hadjec, a very poor Mussulman village, to the right of the road, and almost inaccessible from bad ways. We were assailed, as we approached, by some large and exceedingly fierce sheep-dogs, but made our way to the house of the Yuz-bashi, whom the inhabitants, like the Persians, called the Ket-koda. He conducted us to a house occupied by several women, who, as we entered, were baking bread on a gridiron, laid over the receptacle in the centre of the floor, used for similar purposes in Persia, and for which a hole in the roof served as a chimney. They were very reluctant to receive us, pleading, as a reason, that there were only themselves in the house; but the Ket-koda was peremptory, and, as a compromise, we allowed them to finish their baking, and waited till the males returned and had eaten their supper. A promise of a present in the morning completely reconciled them to our stay.

Noon of the following day found us at Khoda, as miserable a place as we had seen, its white post-house

contrasting strangely with old ruined towers, probably belonging to former walls. Verst posts, painted white, black, and yellow, now became more regular, announcing the presence of the superficial semi-civilization of the Russians; but the road had become execrable. In other respects the country preserved much the same character.

At the ninth verst-post a castle presented itself, on the left bank of the river, which flowed rapidly down a valley, passing many points between bold rocks, well calculated for suspension bridges. Further on we saw wheels for irrigating the gardens and vineyards, with long conduits of wood, conducting water across the dry gravelly part of the bed. On the opposite side of the river was a range of whitened government houses; and just below, to the left of the road, was a buff-coloured building, which, from the sentry-boxes at the entries, also had the appearance of a government establishment. An immense beam, doing duty as a gate before an opening, in the style of Northern Germany and Russia, with a sentry-box at one side and a guard-house on the other, made us sensible that we were actually in the southern capital of the Czar. Everything was painted buff, black, and white; and, like a Russian soldier in his parade uniform, looked stiff and constrained, the exterior making a considerable show, but all that did not immediately meet the eye was foul and neglected.

As we passed on through disorderly streets, and over a perfect slough of mud, with buff and green buildings on each side, looking strangely out of character to the

eye of an Asiatic traveller, I could not but contrast the fine countenances of the Georgians, moving about in their picturesque and comparatively civilized costume, with the greasy dirty appearance of the Russians, and their common vulgar physiognomy. The latter, however, take care to show that they are the masters, exhibiting an offensive assumption towards everything appertaining to the conquered nation. I observed that the Persian servant who rode before me, although much better apparelled than myself, yet looking like a native of the country, was spoken to very uncivilly by different Russian employés as we passed along; but when they saw in my European forage-cap, they immediately uncovered their heads, and stood out of the way. As we progressed, Russia and its usages were recalled to mind at every step; droshkies, throwing up a shower of mud as they passed; while the large, clumsy carriages of the capital, drawn by four horses, were not wanting, and the rude warning of their conductors rang in the ear, admonishing the passers-by to clear the way.

I called on a General Officer for whom I had brought a letter, who returned my visit in a carriage and four, and resplendent with orders. He was on his way to wait on the General-in-Chief, and invited me to visit him, adding that I might talk English at his house, as he had English connexions.

The fort at Tiflis commands the bridge and town, and has a few guns. The bridge, which is of wood, crosses at a very narrow part of the river, but the town is accessible from several places on both banks. An old

castle on the right bank is in ruins, and from heights on this side, the new Government buildings are within shelling range. A ravine cuts off the town from the country to the north.

The situation of Tiflis admits of its being attacked at any time when not regularly defended, by crossing to the left bank below the town, and turning the hills and descending on it. Its position is completely commanded from this side, from the old castle as well as at other points. In the vicinity of the German colony on the opposite bank the river might be crossed, and an attacking force effect an advance. A hill to the rear of the convent has a slope on the reverse side, which is broken off precipitously, forming an important point. This side, and the other to a greater degree, are pierced on the Russian map with roads, which can be discerned distinctly from the heights on the south bank.

The ground opposite the German colony is very precipitous, and commands the opposite shore, where the plain is narrow. Crossing above would be difficult, and this makes the convent more important.

I paid a visit to the General-in-Chief, who appeared to be a kindly-disposed man, and gave me a courteous reception.

His palace is a handsome structure, and there was a large attendance of uniforms, with the usual amount of decorations. One of the General's aides-de-camp was a young Mingrelian Usbek. The General showed me many enormous long firelocks of the Caucasus, and everything I saw and heard, from those around, satisfied



me that there was a decided inclination to extend the territory eastward, and that this is a general feeling among all Russians.

While at Tiflis I took many walks in and about the town, noticing the fortifications of the locality ; and one day, when passing near the castle, I was struck by the extreme precipitousness of the rock below, dipping at once down to the river, which is much narrowed at this spot. Here the Lesghis, in former times, used to fire down with their rifles upon the town, which must, therefore, be within range of the surrounding heights.

The General at the head of the Engineer Staff was said to be a man of merit. He had founded the seminary, which, under his auspices, made considerable progress. He had also executed a survey of the Caucasian country within four years. He said the officers employed on this perilous service were frequently fired at by the mountaineers.

Soon after my arrival a young Indian from Lahore called upon me, and styled himself "an English subject," being the son of a certain nobleman of that country. His grandfather had been Vizier to Mahmoud Shah of Cabool. After leaving Lahore, his family were, he said, coming to Abbas Mirza, at Meshed, accompanied by many camels loaded with their effects, when they were attacked and plundered by the Beloochees. On reaching Shiraz, they were offered service by the Prince-Governor, but this they declined, and came on here. My visitor seemed not more than seventeen years of age, and was of slight figure, and not very

dark. He wore a kind of shabby uniform, belonging to the seminary, and, from all I could learn, I believe his family are in the Russian interest.

Immediately below the convent of St. David's, which is situated on the side of the precipitous mountain, is the tomb of Grebayadoff, the Russian Minister, who was destroyed at Tehraun with his whole suite. It is in a kind of arched recess, built in the face of the rock, and enclosing a bronze statue, which represents, I believe, Russia lamenting the loss of her representative.

By the provisions of a previous treaty Russia claimed at that period the surrender of all Georgian captives in Persia. A Georgian, named Rustem, informed Grebayadoff that two Georgian females were slaves in the family of the Ausif-el-Dowlat, the Shah's maternal uncle. The Minister demanded their release, and two females, stated to be those in question, were sent to his residence, by the Shah's order. The women themselves, however, stated that they were not Georgians, but Turkish Armenians—that they had become Mahomedans, and were married to Persians in the Ausif's service, and that they had no wish to change either their situations or their religious tenets. Rustem then declared that this was merely a stratagem—that these were not the females he had described—persisted in his statement, recommending that they should be detained until the real Georgians were produced, and his advice was unfortunately followed.

The following day the two females expressed a wish

to take the bath, and, on their way, finding themselves on the flat roof of one of the buildings of the Embassy, which commanded the street, immediately collected a crowd below by their cries, asserting that they had been grossly ill-treated, and called on their countrymen to rescue them.\* A furious attack was soon commenced on the Minister's residence, and Rustem is said to have fired on those who assailed the gate, and killed a man. The crowd then became outrageous, burst into the residence, and massacred every individual of the Russian embassy, including the Minister, who, it is said, was dragged from a chimney in which he had taken refuge, and brutally murdered. †

At Tiflis I parted with my horses, several of which had by turns carried me from Tabreez to the shores of the Caspian, and by the way of Bagdad to those of the Persian Gulf, and "again, on my homeward route, through Shiraz, Ispahan and Tehraun, to the capital of Georgia. During my long journey in these regions not one of them had failed. I also dismissed here some Persian attendants, and purchased an antiquated-looking vehicle, on horizontal wooden springs, which might have been imported into Georgia in the reign of its first Russian monarch, intending to pursue my journey in the more expeditious, though less agreeable mode provided by the Russian post. Accordingly, I procured the necessary order for post-horses, and, having made my other arrangements for a journey to Odessa, by

\* A foster-brother of Grebayadoff, who was in his service, was much blamed.

the route of Stavropol and Taganrog, took my departure.

The first stage was over an elevated flat, where we met many tumbrils and carts with baggage, escorted by some troops in a very ragged state. After passing the village of Acktala, the road became bad. The scenery was generally beautiful, and sometimes romantic, including mountains and valleys, the latter, green with corn, and abundantly watered, and many flocks were to be seen. On a mountain to the north was a striking old ruin, apparently a church; and further on was a station of Cossacks.

We passed many waggons loaded with merchandize, the old church still continuing in sight. Soon afterwards Mitchexa, the old capital of Georgia, came in view, its fine large church and stately towers rising over the ancient walls. The approach was through beautiful scenery over a good bridge, with lofty wooded cliffs receding towards the mountains. The road passed close by, carrying us on to the next station. Hence we proceeded to Dooshet, near which we met an aide-de-camp of the Emperor, travelling with two carriages, at a brisk pace. We now crossed a plain, succeeded by hills, forming fine scenery, with a soil fruitful of vines. Altogether the day's journey was a very agreeable one.

On leaving Dooshet there is a very defensible range looking to the front, from Tiflis, and a double-peaked mountain, called the Camel or Saddle mountain, is seen about eight or ten miles distant. A very steep descent into a valley was followed by another, after which we

passed the former quarantine of Ananoor, a pretty-looking white building, and then came in sight of an old church, standing on a height, enclosed by walls and towers, and constituting a very picturesque object. In the valley of the Aragua is a fine mountain and wood scene, in the midst of which is a barrack and station. Valleys and mountains succeed, and the road, which is well laid out, and in excellent order, is at one place commanded and shut in by towers. The country throughout affords good points of resistance, except to the north and east, where it is not so strong. Further on there are the remains of an ancient wall, when a snow-capped mountain is seen to the left. A valley leads to the station of Passanoor.

Here we were unable to procure fresh horses, those belonging to the station being now out, carrying on the daughter of Prince Dadianoff, and her attendants, who were proceeding towards Poland. We took up our residence in the fort, a clean white range, surrounded by thin walls. A wheel of my primitive vehicle had already got loosened, and though the damage was so slight, the smith at the station, a Cossack, demanded a silver rouble and a half for setting it right, an imposition in which he was supported by his chief, who probably shared the profit.

At the junction of the rivers here there was a small old tower, and just above, the united streams were spanned by a bridge of wood, leading to a path up the rock, the commencement of a new road, which, when finished, would save two stages.

We were detained at Passanoor till the next morning, when the driver, at starting, upset the carriage, in turning short round an angle, but fortunately no one was hurt, and though our conveyance was somewhat damaged, we were able to go on.

I observed that artillery on the rocks, over a bend of the river, could close the pass to the right. The country, broken by steep ridges afforded very fine scenery, at once singular and beautiful. We passed some ruined towers and numerous villages, and saw many mountains to the left. Valleys opened frequently, and here and there an old tower or a ruined chapel formed a striking object. At length the ascent of the Caucasian range, which we had so long been approaching, might be said to have fairly commenced. A steep road led through Kashanoor, a miserable little place, consisting of only a few houses and a barrack, painted white, for a party of soldiers. There was a larger village higher up the hill, and on a mountain to the right was a round watch-tower, looking down on another building below. A very steep ascent terminated in a table-like summit, and rocks, valleys, and watercourses added varied features to the scene. To the right of the road stands a lofty cross, called Peter the Great's: it is planted on the summit of a mountain, which is hence designated the Mountain of the Cross, and marks the limit of that Emperor's advance through the Caucasus. In a descent down a steep valley, with towering peaks rising on both sides, we observed the tracks of wolves in the snow. The whole

pass is a deep mountain valley, having no other leading into it, so that it could be very easily defended. The country could furnish all supplies ; but in this part of the Caucasus the climate must be a great obstacle to military operations. The weather was now very severe, and soon after we reached Kobi heavy snow began falling.

Next morning we were met at a station by an officer travelling towards Tiflis. He proved to be a Captain in the service, to which he seemed not to be particularly attached ; and he spoke with interest of Afghanistan, Lahore, and Persia, as if anxious to take service in one of those countries, asking if it would be a good *speculation*. I told him much would depend on circumstances, and gave him what information I could, all unfavourable to his views.

I left Kobi at eight o'clock, when, as it had been snowing some hours, there was a considerable depth of snow on the ground. The road, which had been lately repaired for the accommodation of the Emperor, was not bad, though occasionally stony. It carried us up long slopes, whence we obtained, at intervals, commanding views, including numerous villages. On the summit of a bold precipice stood an old castle, with a church and a watch-tower, apparently designed as a beacon.

A fine road leads to Kasbek, opposite to which, on the left bank, is one of the old fortified villages of the country. Kasbek is the post-station, and as we approached it, we met two carriages, each drawn by six horses. In the yard of the station were the family of a Russian colonel, going towards Vladikavkas, and a troop

of horses belonging to their escort, a party of Cossacks, with whom they soon rode off.

In our way to this place from Kobi we met some camels, with long hair on the neck, and two humps—a breed much prized, and usually kept for stock in Asia Minor. They are, comparatively speaking, handsome animals, and are sometimes seen in Turkey with nothing on their backs but an ornamented saddle, leading a caravan, to which they are considered a great adornment. They are, I believe, the Bactrian camel.

We were now in the great pass of Dariel. Since leaving the valley on the south, below the great ascent, the country has been destitute of wood, a terrible want in these cold and elevated regions.

Soon after noon, the officer in command here, and the priest, in full costume, entered the house with attendants, holy water, pictures, brush, and crucifix, for the purpose of consecrating the new buildings, which was done by sprinkling the interior with holy water. The military party had previously returned from church, with drums beating. Their appearance and that of the military in the Caucasus generally was not bad; but they had probably all been newly clothed before the Emperor's visit. From a jovial-looking traveller on his way to Tiflis with his family I learnt that the carriages we had met going towards Kobi, contained a nephew of the General-in-Chief, returning from Siberia, where he had been with ten other nobles, since 1826, when he was condemned to labour in a fortress beyond Tobolsk. He was now reprieved to the



Caucasus, but could not be employed in a military capacity.

Horses being at length obtained, we started from Kasbek in the afternoon, passing through very wild scenery, on a tolerable road—still much indebted to the recent visit of the Emperor—to Durdur, a military station, where an iron chain barrier was drawn across the passage. Hence we went on to Larse, another station; and here, being unable to procure horses, we remained for the night.

The road from the summit of the range to this place, affords a large succession of spots, which could be made impassable. The slope being from Tiflis, that side, of course, has much the advantage. The precipitous character of the scenery even exceeded my expectations, which, from the descriptions I had heard and read, had been raised very high. Near Dariel is the beau-ideal of savage rocky scenery, such as I have never seen existing to such an extent in any other place. All day it was piercingly cold. Rugged and peaked mountains, jagged into a thousand needles and pinnacles, rose up on every side, while masses sometimes hung as if detached, and at others reared themselves isolated on the highest summits, looking frequently as if shivered by gunpowder. The river swept in its course over huge rocks and blocks of granite, strewn about like pebbles. In short, the pass is a geological chaos, which the Russian posting gives no time to examine, especially amidst the storms of November in such a region.

The station here consisted of a few open houses. The house for travellers was old, but well kept by two or three soldiers, though in consequence of the high wind they were afraid to kindle the stoves, as the building being of combustible materials, they were apprehensive it would take fire.

Leaving Larse, we entered a narrow gorge, threaded by the rapid waters of the Terek, while on each side, romantic cliffs, nearly perpendicular, were backed by the towering mountains of the range. Passing a telegraph station on a steep ascent to the left, we moved very quickly through the bed of the valley. This, at times, forms the actual channel of the river, when swollen by the melted snows of the mountains, which bring down in their course blocks of stone and detached rocks, now lying in enormous masses everywhere around. As the valley became wider, the river flowed in a broader channel, sweeping past a village of true Circassians who had submitted on account of some dispute with neighbouring clans in their country and settled here. Crossing the bed of a torrent, a steep ascent close to the stream showed us the mountains stretching away to the east; and the valley, hitherto wild and naked, now became exceedingly picturesque, woody heights appearing to the right, and on the left the village and station of Reeding, while another valley opened to the east.

At the foot of the mountains the country became much flatter; and though lime rocks, with a village opposite to them on the bank of the river, still rose to

the left, on the right we commanded a fine open view, and behind, the mountains presented bold precipices, the summits and fissures covered with snow. Crossing to the right bank of the Terek, we entered Vladikavkas, an open and straggling town. It possesses a large fort in palisaded earthen work, which, however, is commanded by heights to the south. The large barracks within were said to contain only three battalions of the three regiments stationed along the line. Russia is recalled to mind by a large green-domed church; but we met in our journey during the day many horsemen in the pure habit of Circassia, indicating that we were now on the Circassian border. Since leaving Kasbek we had, for the most part, been on a constant descent, the river flowing rapidly close to us, in a valley generally narrow, thickly strewn with the large angular blocks before mentioned, and showing no trace of vegetation.

The citadel of Vladikavkas has a good bastioned rampart, armed with heavy guns in barbette at the salient angles. It is apparently a square or pentagonal work, lying, as it were, across the mouth of the pass. The range of the Caucasus, composed of snowy jagged mountains, stretches off behind, rising in a bold sierra, the large masses of glacier sparkling in the sun. The adjoining station was a beautiful spot, and warm and sheltered. Here certainly is the utmost natural limit of the Russian empire, and every step beyond is an aggression on her neighbours.

The General at Tiflis had given me an order to the Commandant of Vladikavkas for a Cossack escort, as the

country from this point was often visited by hostile tribes ; and without such an accommodation, we should have had to wait here for the periodical escort which always accompanies travellers. I sent in the order ; and while waiting the appearance of the Cossacks, was accosted by a gentlemanlike person in uniform, whose countenance I thought I recollected, and he proved to be a Count Orloff, formerly one of the Emperor's aides-de-camp, and whom I had seen at St. Petersburg—not a member of the Minister's family, but a Cossack Orloff. He told me that he was proceeding to Tiflis, having been despatched from Cherkask by the Emperor to make a particular inspection of all the cavalry in Georgia. Before taking leave he obligingly furnished me with an introduction to the Commandant of the fort where I was to pass the night.

## CHAPTER XIX.

ARDON—CAUCASIAN PLAIN—COSSACK CAVALRY—ANECDOTE OF  
 SIR HENRY BETHUNE LINDSAY—THE WHITE RIVER—THE CHEN-  
 CHENSES—EKATERINOGRAD—PROFESSIONAL OBSERVATIONS ON  
 THE ROUTE FROM TIFLIS—RUSSIAN OPERATIONS IN THE CAU-  
 CASUS—ROUTE TO STAVROPOL—VISIT TO THE GOVERNOR—  
 BOUNDARY OF EUROPE AND ASIA—RUSSIAN HOSPITALITY—DON  
 COSSACKS — TAGANROG — NICOLAIF — SANITARY CORDON —  
 ODESSA.

CROSSING to the left bank of the Terek, the plains of Kabarda stretched before us, almost quite flat, and contrasting forcibly with the Alpine region to our rear. The ancient tumuli, so universal over the southern steppes, were here very numerous, and were converted into Cossack stations, surmounted by beacons, occurring every quarter of an hour. Our escort was relieved at each, and, as we were seen approaching, the relief galloped down to meet us, so as to occasion no stoppage.

Thirty-four versts from Vladikavkas is Ardon. The fort here, an earthen work, with a ditch lined with fascines, measures one hundred yards inside, and besides a store-house and travellers' quarters, has a low barrack seventy yards long for the garrison, and a Commandant's and Adjutant's quarter and guard-house. There is a

redan, with short flanks like those of a bastion, in the centre of each face of the square formed by the fort. The parapet, which is about nine feet thick, is just high enough to cover infantry, a very general construction in the smaller forts of the Caucasus. The gorges of these bastion-like redans measured fifteen paces, and the ditch is about ten feet broad at the top. In each redan there were a couple of brass field-pieces, apparently six or eight-pounders, and their limbers were kept under adjacent sheds, ready for use outside of the fort if required. The place was commanded by a Lieutenant-Colonel, and was extremely clean, and apparently in high order. Having made use of Count Orloff's communication I was installed in a good apartment, warmed by a stove, and affording a comfortable lodging.

The permanent Commandant was absent at Stavropol, and the officer actually commanding was the Lieutenant-Colonel of the battalion in the garrison—a young man who had been nine years in the Imperial guards. Coming to my quarters he invited me to his house, which I found fitted up with excellent furniture. The Lieutenant-Colonel was altogether a favourable specimen of a civilized Russian, conversing fluently in French, and being quite a man of the world. He spoke of the good shooting in the neighbourhood, and the quantity of pheasants; and described the surrounding country as very tranquil, and the inhabitants as their “*defenders*” against the Circassians; but from what I saw of precautionary measures, and the alertness of the Cossack picquets, this appeared doubtful.

The range of the Caucasus, seen from this place, is very like the Pyrenees from the vicinity of Pau ; but from its greater steepness and its jagged, sharp features, it produces much finer effects. The foreground is a vast plain, covered at this season with long withered grass, formerly, we were told, the hiding-places of the Circassian man-stealers : and which was now cut and piled up in many places in a multitude of small hayricks, for the cattle and horses. The former are a fine short-legged handsome breed : the latter partake too much of the Cossack stiffness and ruggedness to be admired by a traveller just returned from Persia and the vicinity of Nedjid. Both the men and animals, however, look serviceable and hardy ; and once or twice after leaving Ardon, our escort galloped along for eight or ten miles in very good style, before they were changed. They wore sometimes the great-coat and forage cap of Russian soldiers, but were usually equipped with the Circassian cap and bourka, as Cossacks of the Line. All carried the gun in a felt case, and the sabre without the cross-guard, like the handle of the Turkish yatagan. Sometimes they were armed also with lances, but of a much clumsier shape than those of the Khoords. They wore no spurs, and were mounted in a plain stirrup. Comparing them with the chivalrous-looking, highly-armed, and well-appointed cavaliers of Koor-distan, individually so expert in the use of their weapons, and mounted on thorough-bred and powerful steeds, often of Arab blood, it would be difficult to comprehend how they could have coped with them

successfully, if it were not borne in mind that the efficiency of troops depends so much on the skill of the leader in the art of disciplining, and, when disciplined, of skilfully applying a combined force.

The Koords near Byazeed, some of whom, however, are more attached to Persia than to Turkey, are very fine irregular horsemen. The family of Belool Pasha had great influence among their tribes; but I do not know whether Belool still governs at Byazeed, or even if he is alive.\*

While treating of this subject, I may remark that the Koords and Eeliauts appeared to me while in Persia, and on its western frontier, beyond all comparison the finest irregular horsemen I saw in that part of the East, whether in regard to physical strength and activity, or personal appearance, and their horses are a noble and hardy race of animals. The Turkomans, on the southeastern shores of the Caspian, are even better mounted than the Koords and Eeliauts, but they are still greater marauders in their own plains, and less under control.

It appears to me that in our pending campaigns, our chief deficiency, numerically speaking, is likely to be in cavalry; and I cannot help reflecting that we may be in many situations where a good force of such cavalry, as I have alluded to here, would be very useful. The Shah of Persia possesses great influence over the Eeliaut and Koordish tribes near his dominions, and besides this, the mountaineers of the Kara-bagh, in the late

\* I have lately learned that Belool Pasha is dead, and his family scattered and no longer in power.



Persian and now Russian provinces near the Caspian, still look up to him in a great degree as their Suzerain, —a feeling watched with great jealousy by Russia.

The late Sir Henry Bethune Lindsay, formerly in the Honourable East India Company's Service, was long one of the officers, who about forty years ago resided in Persia for the purpose of organizing the Shah's troops, and being an artillery officer, was very successful in forming that branch of the service, and employing it against the Russians during our last short war with that empire, although its condition very soon deteriorated after his departure. Happening to be at one of the great camps of manœuvre in the south of Russia, a good many years after this, he found himself near a body of horsemen of the Kara-bagh in Russian employ, and accoutred like the so-called Circassians of the Imperial Guard, few of whom, however, are really Circassians. "What do I see!" exclaimed Sir Henry; "a band of Mussulman warriors from the Kara-bagh ('Black-garden') tricked out in Russian dresses, and serving the Padi-Shah Orous?" The men were strongly moved, and seemed ashamed. They knew that the noble-looking soldier who was six and a half feet in height, was the man known all over Persia as Linjaun Sahib.\* But there was a spy in their ranks, and in the evening the General was visited with a kind of discipline peculiarly Russian, when enforced towards a stranger of high military rank. All the other foreign officers were invited to

Linjaun is a Persian province, and the people of Persia always supposed his name to be connected with it.

dine with the Emperor, but not so Linjaun Sahib, whose viséd passport was brought to him by an emissary of the police, with an unmistakable intimation to set out for the frontier without delay.

I do not think we ought at such a crisis as the present to lose sight of our Persian influence. Although we are of old familiar with the character of that people, and are aware that their alliance is to be secured by those who pay the best, yet in operations in the provinces towards the Caspian, and also if a serious attempt were made to drive back Russia from the Caucasus, their co-operation with the Turks might be highly important; and even a cavalry force of Koord and Eeliauts sent by the shortest route to the Danube—and they are quick travellers—would be a valuable addition to that already there, especially as these tribes all speak a dialect of Turkish.

Sir John McNeill, late Her Majesty's Minister in Persia, and Colonel Farrant, formerly of the East India Company's Cavalry, and lately Chargé d'Affaires at Tehraun, are both highly qualified to give the best information relative to these warlike equestrian tribes—and to speak on other points of interest connected with the region they inhabit.

To return to the Cossacks: their history is well known. They are the descendants of the colony planted here by Catherine in the last century. They were before called the Zaperaguay, then the Tcherná Morski or Black Sea Cossacks, and now the Cossacks of the Line, that is, of the Line formed by the Kooban and

Terek. Their settlements belonged previously to the mountaineers, and this appropriation of them was one of their great grievances.

Resuming our journey we crossed the Beli-raichka, or White River, by a long wooden bridge, the channel being 200 yards broad, although at this season the stream itself was not fifteen. The water is very clear, whence it probably derives its name. It joined the large river a little below, forming a striking feature in the scene, here diversified by hills and woods, while hay was cut and ricked in the fields, and to the northward the eye discerned some low tumuli, lending it a new interest. Passing green conical heights on one side, and a marshy jungle on the other, we crossed another river, the Doordoor, and rode on to a village and military station, of the same name, possessing a square earthen fort with bastions. Here I observed, what indeed I had frequently noticed before, that Russian soldiers take off their caps, in passing an officer's quarters, as they also do in passing a church.

The road passes a stone five feet in height, with an Arabic inscription; and the mausoleum of an Ossetinian prince, also of stone, in ruins. Some distance on, the road enters the village of Minareh, where an old minaret, evidently of Persian origin, is still standing, giving name to the place. The village is a station, and on our arrival we were furnished with a fresh escort of four Cossacks. A woody plain beyond conducted us to a flat country, abounding in bush, and affording a good deal of cover in every direction. When invaded by the

Circassians, it must be a very dangerous locality. The station, where there is a square fort with bastions, is called Urock.

While here, a Cossack brought us a brace of 'live pheasants, which he wished to sell, but my feelings as a sportsman would not allow of my making the purchase. Just afterwards, a Moolah, dressed in a turban and robe, in the Constantinople style, and who spoke Turkish, came in from a neighbouring village, with several Chenchenses, clad like Circassians, and escorting a man who had been wounded by a Cossack, to have the affair adjusted.

We had from here an escort of eight Cossacks, all wearing the Circassian cap, and so strong a force, with other symptoms, showed clearly that we were now near a very unsettled country. As we set out, our wheel iron gave way, causing a short stoppage, when we crossed a river, as before, by a wooden bridge, leading to a similar bushy plain. Gradually the scenery assumed quite an English aspect, the woods abounding with pheasants, and we saw troops of thirty or forty together, some of which we shot. From all I observed the greatest difficulty on this route arises from the hostile disposition of the Chenchenses who extend towards Daghistan, altogether to the right of the road. They are closely connected with the other Mussulman tribes, and by the road passing near the Caspian by Bakoo, are quite accessible from Persia, though not easily reached by the roundabout route through Georgia. In fact, it is merely the possession of this road through

the Dariel pass which gives Russia any power beyond the mountains, unless she could command water transit. If that road were held by either of the powers to the south, the whole of the eastern country beyond the Caucasus would be theirs; for the hardy races of this region are all Mussulmans, and their allegiance to Russia is wholly compulsory—a smouldering fire ready to burst forth at any time; and they are really, in every rank, a warlike semi-barbarous hard-fighting race, very different from the Asiatic Turks and Persians. This is sufficiently attested by the vigilance which they render necessary in this neighbourhood—the fortified stations, the chains of piquets, always on the alert, with beacons ready to fire and horsemen to despatch at all hours. The country presents the appearance of the advanced posts of one disciplined army in presence of another, and it is idle for the Russians to assert that this is simply to keep up the habit of vigilance. The fact is, that the colonized Cossacks, who know that their homes are at stake, go in advance of their orders, because they see the necessity of it. Nor is it likely that, for such a reason, the authorities would send pieces of ordnance and a column of infantry a distance of several hundred miles through the mountains, once or twice a week, as a mere convoy to travellers. Such a convoy we actually passed at the entrance to the fort of Ardon, escorting some merchants, and the post is always accompanied by infantry—a great loss of time.\*

\* It has become a matter of great interest to learn in what state the road I took now is. Were the Russians over-

It became dark before we reached the next station, and, after a short delay, occasioned by our discussing the possibility of passing the quarantine, which some alleged had been recently abolished by the Emperor, but others stated to be still existing, we pushed forward, with nine Cossacks, through the mud and rain, reaching the quarantine at Ekaterinograd about eight o'clock. Here our papers obtained us immediate admission, and we crossed a river into a dark straggling town, with muddy streets and wooden houses, one story high, looking gloomy enough under the mask of night. Nor did the place improve with the morning, which rose cloudy, chill, and damp; but the carriage having been much shaken by the rough roads, so as to require repair, and the smith declaring that he could not get it ready till the evening, we were obliged to make the best of circumstances, and prolong our halt.

From the belfry of a wooden church I obtained a tolerable view of the country. The town is surrounded by a ditch, which would be a good jump and no more. To the west lies the Ekaterinograd of former times, consisting of a dilapidated barrack, within an earthen fort, which had never been faced with brick. It is approached through a large ruined gateway, having the appearance of a triumphal arch, and looking likest one at a distance, but on approaching it, I found it was plas-

powered by the natives along this route, the Caucasian country would be virtually lost to them—our fleet having expelled them from the coast. Georgia and Erivan must soon be evacuated under such circumstances.

tered brick, in a mouldering state. The ramparts, composed only of sandy earth, have fallen into complete decay. They comprise bastions and redans, but, in their present condition, are quite contemptible as a fortified work. The river runs on one side of the fort, where it has some works at the south-east corner to fire towards the bridge. The remaining space is an earthy cliff over the channel, which at this time was dry for about one hundred yards between the fort and the stream.

I shall now make a few remarks of a professional nature respecting what struck me as I passed along the route from Tiflis to Ekaterinograd. Its whole extent is perfectly practicable for the passage of guns of every calibre, except when any temporary obstruction is created by avalanches, or a recent fall of snow, which sometimes occurs even late in spring. At the time of my journey there were no fortresses, redoubts, or even batteries from Tiflis to Vladikavkas. The military posts were in this mountainous region—which is a continual pass—nothing more than slight barracks enclosed within a stone wall, with small flanking towers for musketry, capable, however, of warding off an attack made by irregular troops, if without cannon. At Vladikavkas is the first of the forts of communication, which connected the Pass of Dariel with the chain of fortresses of the line formed by the two rivers of the Kooban and the Terek.

The strength and importance of all these latter defences have been much exaggerated. They are, for

the most part, mere earthen works of no strength of profile, and of small extent; that of Ekaterinograd particularly struck me as one that could have been entered anywhere over the parapet, by a well-mounted man on horseback. The barracks within are ruinous, and much exposed to the fire of an enemy. The smaller forts, such as Ardon, Doordoor, &c., are nothing more than square redoubts of about a hundred yards front, sometimes made with small bastions in the centre of the faces, and sometimes with redans, each, like that described at Ardon, containing a couple of six or eight-pounders on field carriages. An attack on such places by even a small force, covered with a few guns, could not fail to succeed; but the want of guns by the mountaineers, and their possession by the posts, give the latter an overpowering advantage. The forts generally adjoin a small town, to which they are united by a ditch of no depth or breadth, having a fence of fascines on the inside.

The country between Vladikavkas and Ekaterinograd is occupied by the Ossetinians, a tribe long subdued by Russia, and which has never been considered warlike. But the Chenchenses and Lesghis, who also border at no great distance the mountainous part of the road to Tiflis, and occupy the territory immediately to the east extending towards Daghistan on the Caspian, cause constant alarm. Their subjugation, if ever completely effected, will be gradual, and occupy much time. The whole country north of Gagra, on the coast, appertains to Circassia, which is bounded to the south by the



central chain of the Caucasus; to the north and east by the Kooban, and to the west by the sea. Abkhasia extends north no further than Gagra, and not along its shore, as it is marked in many maps. Nor does the central chain run up so far as Anapa, but merely the secondary ridges. Circassia is nearly all of the same topographical character, and to its peculiar formation its inhabitants, in great measure, owe their independence. It is known to be composed of an immense number of elevated plains, of a very productive character, separated from the low country, and from each other, by precipitous ravines, which regular troops, even without cannon, find it extremely difficult to traverse, while the inhabitants move about from place to place with a quickness and facility which wear out their pursuers, who are often obliged to act on the defensive, and have as yet never made any permanent impression on the country. The bravery, and capability of supporting privation, which these mountaineers possess, is well known, and is admired by none more than by the Russian officers who have acted against them, many of whom I heard declare, that so long as the Circassians can obtain arms and ammunition, there is no prospect of their being subdued. One year, the General who commanded only advanced a distance of twelve miles, and had afterwards to retreat and abandon the country. On this occasion several thousand Circassians, profiting by his absence from the neighbourhood of Stavropol, his usual head-quarters, threw themselves unexpectedly upon Petigorsky, a district considered so far from the dangerous parts of the Cau-

casus, that the mineral springs there were the resort of many wealthy invalids. The incursion is described as having been completely successful, and occasioned great alarm at Stavropol. Not long afterwards an equally bold attempt was made on the town of Georgefski, where there is one of the forts of the line, and notwithstanding the resistance of a considerable garrison, the mountaineers succeeded in rendering themselves masters of the adjoining town, and kept it for several hours.

To illustrate further the Russian system of operations in the Caucasus, I may mention that in the April previous to my visit, a Russian camp of about 4000 men was defeated in Daghistan, and lost between 1100 and 1200 men, and a General Officer. This was followed in about a month by the defeat of a body of about 5000 men under a Swiss general in Russian employ, when the Lesghis took 700 prisoners, and killed more than 400 men. In May, the Russians crossed the Kooban with a large corps, said to have been about 13,000 strong, and sustained a very severe check between Gela and Zoli-Kodos, losing nearly 20 officers, of whom several were of rank, and about 500 men. On this occasion many Poles succeeded in deserting. A second action as obstinately contested, and also attended with loss, put the Russians in possession of the bay of Pshad, to the south of Ghelenjik, where they succeeded, after repelling several attacks, in erecting a fort. While these operations were in progress in the north, the General-in-Chief was engaged with a corps of 8000 men in gaining possession of Cape Adler, one of the desired

points of occupation on the coast. His disembarkation being unexpected, and supported by a flotilla, was only opposed by a small number of the natives, but still cost him a considerable number of men, while his opponents left no dead on the field, and lost no prisoners. The Circassians are stated to have done great execution on this occasion with their rifles, famous for taking effect at a great distance.

A corps of 4000 men was left at Cape Adler, under a Major-General, to construct a fortress, and the General-in-Chief returned to Georgia. The corps detached was surprised by several hundred natives, who issued suddenly from a defile then unknown to the Russians, and attacked the camp, which they captured, and only retired on the approach of the flotilla. Among the Russians the number killed was said to have been large. On these occasions the only part of the Cape Adler corps, which could cope with the natives, is understood to have been the Mingrelian legion in the Russian service, whose arms and method of fighting resemble those of the mountaineers. The Russians subsequently made an advance into the mountains, but very soon abandoned the enterprise.

The new station thus added to the Russian possessions does not seem to have been more healthy than the rest, for I was informed by an eye-witness who was then in the fort, that 1200 men were in the hospital in October. The whole of the fortresses from Anapa to Soukoum-Kalleh were in an isolated state, and were described as being of such a construction as to be inca-

pable of resisting a regular attack for the shortest period, and a piece or two of artillery on the neighbouring heights would, it was said, make that of Gagra, the key of the whole pass along shore, untenable. The troops were occupied at the time in improving the coast road near that spot, but the nature of the ground rendered this very difficult. The measure was probably adopted with a view to reaching the smaller indentation of the sea, frequented by light Turkish vessels, which could not be prevented from entering by the cruizers.

Our carriage was, after due exertion, got ready at last, and soon after five o'clock we left Ekaterinograd, and entered on a vast plain, from which a part of the range of the Caucasus was very distinctly seen to the left. The shade, soon after sunset, enabled us to trace the whole wall of mountains, as far even as Mount Elboorz, with its altitude of 17,000 feet, and distant more than 80 miles.

The route continued over a flat or steppe, with very little variety. At one place a deep muddy ravine, with a brook running through it, rendered the progress of the carriage extremely difficult. About midnight we arrived at Georgefski, a poor fortified station, worse than Ekaterinograd. The next station was Sabley, a distance of 37 versts,\* the whole road being exceedingly heavy, and nothing but the whip of the postilion getting us along.

From Sabley the country was of nearly the same de-

\* The verst is about two-thirds of a mile.

scription—an extensive bare plain, apparently with a good soil, and producing grass, but having no population. Ultimately the ground became more broken, and we ascended heights, commanding a view of the surrounding district, which was partly covered with wood. Soon afterwards we came in sight of the Cossack town, or large village of Alexandrofski, consisting, as usual, of straggling rows of low cabins, one story in height, and having thatched roofs. The streets were very deep and muddy, and there was marshy ground with ponds in the midst of the town. The comfortless life of these people surpasses imagination, inhabiting, as they do, the most miserable hovels, to which they have to wade through pools of mud. The cold is often intense, and wood far from abundant. The horses taken from our carriage were absolutely plastered with mud, and their drivers no less so.

Leaving this place in a fog, we made our way to Ketafka, where we passed the night. A clean room, in what is called the Crown quarter, and a comfortable fire, made this arrangement very acceptable. It was excessively cold, and the fog was of that heavy kind which saturates the ground nearly as much as rain. During the 22 hours from Ekaterinograd, we had travelled about 186 versts, or little more than eight miles an hour, which, as we had galloped all the way, appeared very indifferent progress.

The fog continued in the morning, with a bitter cold wind and hoar-frost, but we set off about eight o'clock, and it gradually became clearer and milder. The road

was gravelly and good, and we covered the ground with greater rapidity, descending by a succession of long slopes to Serhefski, an open straggling place, under heights to the north-west and west, rather more abrupt than we had seen lately. The next station was Sheftska, which is approached over a plain, but still on something of a descent. Here the weather again became cold, and the fog returned. Our postilion was a complete white Tartar, with eyes à la Chinoise, and a small goat's beard. He carried us on to Pazoli, galloping nearly the whole way over an excellent road. Pazoli is a single street, leading up to a church. The post-master, who was from Riga, had been courier in the time of the Emperor Paul, and was fast approaching fourscore.

On quitting Pazoli, the road fell off, the fog and cold increased, and it began to snow. Passing a large bar and guard-house, we entered Stavropol, and proceeded down a long, wide, and muddy street, with occasional large buildings, to an inn, to which I had been recommended by the post-master at Pazoli. The supplies here, though dear, were of a good quality, but the apartments were miserable. The carte presented a variety of wines, &c., including champagne, at 16 paper roubles; and porter, five roubles per bottle. I was satisfied with some excellent old sherry at the same price as the porter. The snow increased, and in the morning, Sunday, there was a good deal in the streets, and on the house-tops. The weather, and the circumstance of its being the last day of the carnival

previous to Advent, determined me to stay here till the following day.

Finding the General in command was very unwell, and saw nobody, I went to pay my respects to the Civil Governor, who transacted all the business during the General's indisposition. He invited me to dine with him at two o'clock, and at that hour I found a party assembled at his house, including his wife, and several other ladies. The Baroness spoke a little French, and plenty of German. The dinner was very good, and his house was well furnished and arranged. Most of the guests were officers, who had been sent here, on one ground or another, as a sort of punishment.

The Civil Governor himself was a Swede, of Scottish descent, his mother being of the branch of the Douglas family (Count Duglas) settled in that country. No one could be more kind or hospitable; and these are qualities I have also observed in the Germans in the Russian service. The Baron was a bird-fancier, and I saw at his house a very pretty bird, a tame ruff, walking about the room, and a pair of the cubk, or mountain partridges, in a cage. Among other natural curiosities he showed me a pair of wild sheep's horns, equal in size to a large ox's, and quite round, wholly unlike those of a goat. The animal had existed till very lately in this neighbourhood, and is still very abundant in the mountains of the Caucasus.

For some distance after leaving Stavropol the roads were very rugged, but ultimately improved; and the fog clearing, showed a tract studded with brushwood.

which we got over pretty briskly. The station of Moskofski is thirty versts from Stavropol. It is composed of only a few houses fronting a rocky eminence, or bank, several hundred feet in height, and having a hollow to the south. The road being reported good, we now took only three horses for the carriage, instead of five, and hurried on, passing a pretty large village and a fort, which seemed quite destroyed, the ditch being filled up. The whole appearance of the country is old; and the villages, often embosomed in high trees, have a better aspect, and the people are more comfortably clad.

The road continued good past the station of Donskaia, to that of Paisawadna, when it again became rugged, and the country changed to a dead flat, wholly denuded of wood, extending to the station of Progradna. This was a small village, but possessed an inn, a comfortless cottage, full of Cossack travellers. The flat still continued, resting to the right on a river, which traversed a low, marshy, and rough tract beyond. Twenty-five versts further on is the station of Serionef, a village similar to the last, and approached over a river, said to be the boundary between Europe and Asia. The character of the ground was unaltered as far as Vergneski. Finding no horses here I left the carriage at the postmaster's, and proceeded to the house of the priest, which seemed a good one, though small. The rooms adjoining that where he received me were full of crying children, already in bed, though it was only seven o'clock, and aroused by our arrival. The priest informed me that



this was the first station in the Don Cossack country. He was a very civil person, and had great mildness of manner, which I have before remarked, on certain occasions, among the Russian clergy. Whether this is merely superficial I cannot say, but even if it be, it has an agreeable effect.

Next morning we procured fresh horses, and pursuing our journey passed the station of Batafski, came in view of the right bank of the Don, which is greatly higher than the left, and we could perceive it was streaked with snow. The town of Axai, a large Russian-looking place, but without any public buildings, stretched along the face of the hill opposite, and old Tcherkask, showing several steeples, was visible some miles to the north. The Don was approached over a very low track, covered with reeds, and a long wooden bridge, of floating pieces, connected the two banks. Above the bridge the river was covered with ice, though of no thickness or solidity. One or two poor-looking brigs and some open boats lay at anchor below, where the stream was still flowing. In the market-place were some shops and a few good houses. The population is all Cossack.

I at first intended to pass the night at Axai, in order that I might inspect its antiquities, and the functionary who provides such accommodation conducted me to a tolerable house; but the host, a very fierce, unsightly, and barbarous-looking Russian, with beard and national costume, swore it was not his turn to lodge the traveller, and aided by the females of the family, gave such a

warm reception to my conductor, that he was glad to beat a retreat. He then took us to a much smaller and worse house, where I saw such a poor prospect of hospitality that I determined merely to go and see the principal church; and then make my way out of the town. The church proved little worthy of a visit, being a poor building of brick, plastered in the customary manner, and the interior was daubed over like the churches of Moscow, with silvered pictures. A bas-relief figure of Christ in the sepulchre, rich in silver, embroidery, and pearls, was exhibited in a glass case. In fact, much money had, as usual in Russia, been lavished here with exceeding bad taste.

In little more than half an hour from Axai we reached the post-station, and stopped for the night. As the Don Cossacks are now all in retirement, there is little of interest to be seen at Novo Cherkask. These Cossacks, in fact, are, at least in peaceable times, no more a military body than our yeomanry cavalry is, although liable to be sent on active service in time of war. The advance of the frontier has changed their character, and though they furnish many regiments by conscription for the regular force, their ancient duties have been assigned to the Cossacks on the Line.

The station is at the entrance of an undulating barren steppe, succeeded by ascents, whence we obtained sight of the town of Nakshivan, an old settlement of Armenians. This was followed by the fortress of Rastoff, which we left close to our right, and then entered the town, a large place, and furnished with a post-station.

The fort is well situated on a high piece of land, sloping to the north, and seemed from its profile to be strong and well planned.

The weather had now become very bad, dark, cold, and stormy, with icicles forming everywhere in a sharp drizzling rain; but we pushed on, and passing several stations, at length came in view of the Black Sea, where both the weather and the country underwent a sensible improvement. To the south and over the sea we discerned the first sunshine since our departure from Ekaterinograd, and the icicles wholly vanished. Trees again appeared round the villages. On a point of land, beyond a bay in the distance, we saw the white buildings of Taganrog, which continued in view, and crossing a tract of steppe, succeeded by houses and gardens, and the remains of several earthen works, we presented ourselves at the barrier and guard-house. Hence we proceeded to the residence of the British Consul, and by him were installed at the Tractier Club, as it is called, a sort of réunion, where we fixed our quarters. We then went to see the house in which the Emperor Alexander died, which is now converted into a chapel, the scene of a yearly ceremony; and afterwards visited the old fortress, a large earthen work of Peter's time, commanding a view of the mole and harbour now only used by lighters.

Taganrog is separated from the next station, Koroog-Brod, by a steppe, and after leaving that place, a ferry carried us over a river in a shower of snow. The next day, between Koroog and Mariopol, we crossed another

river, also by a ferry. Mariopol is a large town, near the sea, containing several churches, and is completely Russian.

As we proceeded, the country became barren and uneven, the snow getting deeper the further we advanced. At Nagaiski, where we stopped at a house kept by a German, I heard there were two or three other families of his countrymen in the town, and in the neighbourhood of Mariopol there are sixteen German villages. Our inn was uncommonly neat and tidy. The family, who were from Dantzic, formed a striking contrast to the Russians, and we could not but compare the aquiline nose and good open countenance of our host with the straw-coloured physiognomies of the people along this coast, who are in aspect but little removed from Calmucks. Our old hostess amused me by her faith in her clock, which, on my impeaching its correctness, she protested was quite "*accurat*,"\* as her husband had set it himself by the sun.

The atmosphere was so thick that it was impossible, as we progressed, to observe anything of the country. The sea of Azof appeared partially from time to time to our left, at no great distance. The houses were chiefly of wood, and one story high. The churches, of which there was no lack, had a superabundance of paltry steeples of wood, rising in four or five stories, and painted white, with green roofs. One church had

\* This is not a German word, but is often borrowed by Germans in conversation from another tongue.

four steeples, looking like the Chinese pagodas on a tea-cup.

Novo-Alexandrinski, a large place, and a station in the village style, is rather pleasantly situated near a small river, with low heights beyond, crowned with windmills. The next stations are Moskopolsk, Sarabulak, and Anhalt-Cothen, where, at a bad tractier's, I obtained some unpalatable fish and bread. At Kohafska, the next station, finding a clean room at the Post-master's, I determined to pass the night there. The cold all day was almost insupportable, both on the road and within doors, for owing to the bad construction of the houses, and the scarcity of fuel, dry grass being chiefly used to heat the stoves, no warmth was to be obtained.

We passed Anhalt-Zubt, where the Duke of Anhalt-Cothen has an establishment for Merino sheep, and has founded a German colony. It seems to be planted in the very centre of the steppe, a very unsuitable spot, if what is said in Spain of Merino sheep be true. The Duke, it appears, resides in Germany; and he is certainly not to be censured for his taste: for I think I never saw a more uninviting wilderness than the whole country from Taganrog to this place. Scythia appears fully to deserve its character for desolate dreariness. The salt deserts of Persia appeared to me to have something less unpleasing in them. They are at least bordered by distant mountrins, which assures us they have an end somewhere, but here it is always the same endless flat.

After crossing the Dnieper at Barielaf by a ferry, the frozen roads became extremely trying to the wheels ; and a fore-wheel, which had been bound with rope in consequence of the iron having fractured, gave way altogether when we were about six versts from the station. While debating how we could proceed, a post telega came up from behind, and I determined to go on in it, and send back a wheel, if a suitable one could be obtained. But while I was seeking to effect that arrangement, the carriage was again set in motion, the half wheel having been turned into a sledge iron by the driver, so as to complete the stage. After a tedious ride over very bad roads, and in continual fear of breaking the wheel, we reached the gate or barrier of Nicolaïf, about two o'clock in the morning. Here a great delay occurred in examining the passport, when a dreary peregrination over frozen mud, and through broad ways bordered with houses, great and small, and few and far between, brought us, at last, to an inn where I had put up on my road from Moscow, on a hot August day, more than three years before. All in the house were asleep, and the place looked even more forlorn in the chill and gloom of a December night, than it did on the occasion of my first visit. But not having broken fast since seven o'clock on the preceding morning, I must say that I despatched a couple of rather greasy dishes which were prepared for me, with some feeling of satisfaction, and the stove (thanks to a neighbour in the adjoining room) was warm. It was

pleasant, too, to reflect that we should soon be at Stamboul, where we would have a glimpse of the sun now and then. I could now understand a Persian's disgust at its absence on first quitting his own country.

Leaving Nicolaïf in the afternoon, we crossed the river in a clumsy scow, moved on by means of a cable, worked by men. Progression is effected by short slight rôpes, and bits of wood, which catch the great cable of the ferry without the boatmen touching it, so as to preserve their hands from exposure to the cold.

Landing opposite, we went forward by an indifferent road to the first station, a handsome building with plate-glass windows, and a fierce-looking picture of the Emperor within, but with little other furniture, and very cold. From this we descended into a valley, passing the village of Kossloff, on the left bank of a large stagnant river, which we crossed by a sort of chaussée, terminating on a sloping ascent. This is a position of passage, and in a valley beyond, threaded by a nearly dry river, is another position, with heights on both sides, the lowest on that next Odessa. An isthmus separated the sea from a long lake to our right, and further on a second isthmus and lake occurred. Here, after going a short distance, our hapless carriage met with another accident, breaking the thick pin which attached the perch to the front axle. We sent to some neighbouring houses for a fresh pin, and our messenger returned with a gun-barrel, the only substitute he could procure. With this, however, we contrived, by our

united ingenuity, to repair damages, and once more set forward. Another isthmus had yet to be traversed, when a heavy and bad road, with a stony bottom, led on to the Neutral Ground, so called from being the boundary of the region in quarantine—for the plague had recently broken out at Odessa.

I was now bent on pushing forward; but at the station I learnt that it was very dangerous to enter Odessa after dark, as during the night the discretion of the sentries, in front of the cordon of troops round the town, was not to be depended upon; and such was the prevailing excitement at this time, from the dread of the plague, that they would, after nightfall, fire "*even at a dog*" whether he was coming into the town or going out. The temporary Police-master, an officer of high rank, advised me strongly to stop for the night at the station, in any place I could obtain, and I had no alternative but to adopt his counsel.

Next morning, however, I presented myself at the barrier, and was admitted into Odessa, where every precaution was now taken to exclude the dreaded contagion.

At that time Odessa was—and I believe is still—an open town, having no defences whatever towards the country, but being a free port, a system of detached barriers had been established at all the outlets in that direction, and these were found very convenient when it became necessary to enforce a rigid quarantine. The lazaretto stood above the cliff, on the western side of



the town, and the works there, consisting of an inconsiderable fort, were by no means strong. The batteries on the moles, lately destroyed, were then unimportant, but would appear to have been greatly augmented since. There was also a lesser fort, or battery, on the shore east of the town.

## CHAPTER XX.

THE CAUCASIAN SHORE—BEAUTY OF THE COAST—LINE OF FORTS  
—CHARACTER OF THE CIRCASSIANS.

I SHALL now revert to the Caucasian shores of the Euxine, beginning at Anapa, which was built by the Turks in 1784. Six years after its construction it was attacked by the Russians, but they were at that time repulsed, though in 1791 they gained possession of it after a siege of six weeks; and again in 1807 their squadron captured it in a single day. It fell into their hands once more in 1809, and lastly was captured by them in 1828, and ceded to Russia in the following year by the Treaty of Adrianople.

Anapa was then a simple parallelogram with bastions at its angles, resting to the south and west upon a high cliff, and to the north and east upon the plain. The number of mounted guns was said to be about 80, and the walls had undergone recent repairs, but with little addition to the strength of the place. Appearances, indeed, were such as to excite surprise that it should have held out five weeks against the formidable force which in 1828 was brought against it both by land and sea.

The country bordering the Black Sea to the east may be said to be bounded in that direction by the Terek, to the north by the Kooban, and to the south by the Phasis. The great chain of the Caucasus, covered with perpetual snow, and abounding in all the characteristics of the loftiest mountains, traverses this region from east to west, abruptly terminating on the coast of Abasia.

To the north, secondary mountains rise to the height of eight or nine thousand feet, and are succeeded by other inferior ranges, declining progressively till entirely effaced on their approach to the Kooban. The summits of the latter mountains are peculiar, presenting, on the advance of summer, when the snow disappears, plains carpeted with the finest pasture. They may be otherwise described as a vast "plateau" on an inclined plane, intersected and precipitously rent in all directions by narrow valleys or chasms, with torrents at the bottom, and which, unlike those of Switzerland and the Tyrol, are perfectly inaccessible. To the elevated plains, thus in a certain degree unapproachable, the native inhabitants, in the hot season, or whenever their lower pasture grounds are invaded, withdraw their flocks and their horses, so renowned for their admirable qualities.

The descent on the south side of the central chain is abrupt, and proceeds rapidly, with the interruption of partial and distant elevations, into the plains of Mingrelia, so that, from the intervention of the secondary heights, none of the highest mountains are perceptible.

from the coast on the north till we reach Gagra; although a few miles south of that point the whole of the grand range is suddenly turned, and becomes visible. On the southern side, therefore, Russia has been unopposed by any great physical difficulties, and being mistress of Georgia, Imiritia, and Mingrelia, has been able to extend her influence in that direction to the very foot of the central chain; and though her rule has never been firmly established, the inhabitants of the soil, of Abasian race, little estimated in the mountains, have professed a dubious allegiance. But it is to the northern Caucasus that both good feeling and our own interest direct our attention; for there we find a brave and temperate people who prefer death to the loss of their independence; and, availing themselves of their natural defences, have, during a long course of years, resisted the whole power of a mighty empire, waging against them a war of extermination with unremitted pertinacity. In all that time the invader has gained no footing in their territory beyond isolated border forts. Nor has foreign domination from the remotest age ever been more to this brave race than an idle word, giving no right which could be alienated by treaty, as even the Sultan's suzerainty in the Caucasus was derived solely from his religious supremacy as head of the Mahommedan faith. Inroads have, indeed, been made at different times into parts of the mountainous country, through the larger valleys of the Mulka, the Podkomak, and the Upper Terek, when, special grievances being urged as a pretext, neighbouring clans have looked

on as spectators. Thus in 1829 General Emmanuel marched against the Kara-Chaï, and reached the foot of Mount Elburz, which was ascended to the summit by some Academicians of St. Petersburg, but the retreat of the Russian General left no traces of conquest.

The native inhabitants have been distinguished by historians and philologists in a perplexing enumeration of races, but all may with propriety be classed under one denomination. The Tcherkesses, or Circassians, are the dominant nation, and people every part of the space within the central chain, the Kooban, the Black Sea, and the Terek. The several tribes recognize, it is true, no common authority ; but I was credibly informed that they acknowledge in the princes of the two Kabardahs, the superior purity of their ancient race. No other name, in short, is used in the army and councils of the Russians but that of the *Tcherkesses*.

The traveller is struck by the unparalleled beauty of the coast, whereon not a sterile spot is perceptible, till the eye falls at length on the highest ridge of mountains which, even in the warm season, are clothed with rich grass, and hung with magnificent woods, down to the water's edge. The extent of cultivation, often carried to the very tops of the hills, excites astonishment, while the numerous valleys opening to the sea, and the vessels skimming its surface, or lying in the many creeks between Ghelenjek and Gagra, lend the scene both animation and variety. The vessels frequenting the creeks are drawn over the bars of small streams, apparently into deep water, where they lie behind heaps

of hewn wood, erected equally to afford protection against the sun's rays, and concealment from the Russian cruisers.

These coasting craft, known in Turkey by the name of "besheftas," come from Anatolia; and from the traffic they carry on, it is reasonable to infer that the Circassians are disposed, if circumstances permitted, to engage in commerce, and to maintain relations of amity with friendly foreigners. The imputation of being irreclaimable barbarians has been cast upon them by Russia, and appears to have no foundation in fact, as they are certainly not wanting in those inherent virtues, which, under more auspicious circumstances, would afford a genial soil for civilization. Jealous of their liberty, they can, no doubt, become a ferocious enemy in defence of their country—addicted to plunder, and thirsty for revenge; and such, perhaps, wanton aggressions and unprovoked ravages have made them on the frontiers of Russia.

Aouls, or hamlets, are dispersed pretty thickly over the country, the populousness of which may also be inferred from the fact, communicated to me on the best authority, that whenever one of the Anatolian vessels, already mentioned, is driven by a cruiser out of its course, and forced to run upon any part of the coast, numbers of people are seen hastening down, without any kind of warning, to assist in discharging the cargo, and to place it in safety, often under the fire of its pursuer.

In the autumn of 1834, the Circassian chiefs of clans

met in a general assembly, a rare occurrence in their history ; and a similar congress was held in 1836—on both of which occasions there was an earnest conference on the subject of the aggressions of Russia, and the most stringent measures were resolved upon for the defence of the country. From the course thus boldly laid down the Circassians have never since swerved.

The Circassian mode of warfare is exceedingly harassing to the Russians, as the enemy in the field is seldom tangible : and, indeed, is often invisible, while he is always vigilant and daring. The Circassians are able, when a favourable occasion presents itself, to combine in masses for an attack ; but this does not happen frequently, their real strength lying in incessant, partial, and even individual hostilities. By these the Russians are closely confined in all their positions, the sentinels being often shot in their intrenchments, and their foraging parties never return without loss ; nor can any movements be undertaken with prudence, even within sight of their lines, except with a strong force, and supported by artillery.

At Sejouk-Kalleh, near the ruins of the Turkish fort, the Russians constructed a fortification, the bay being a frequent anchorage of the Russian fleet ; and in a valley opening to the water, General Williamenoff raised an intrenched camp ; which was repeatedly the scene of active warfare. Strong detachments sent out from the camp were employed on lines of communication in the rear, and in the formation of roads, on one side to Ghelenjik, and on the other to Anapa, both

parallel to the shore; a work in some places of great difficulty, in consequence of the hills running in ridges to the sea. Some parties were likewise employed in clearing the surrounding country of its native inhabitants, and the aouls in the vicinity of the camp were set on fire. Notwithstanding all these precautions, the Turks, when masters of Anapa, were never so entirely cut off in their communications as the Russians have been since they acquired it.

The next Russian station is in the bay of Sejouk-Kalleh, which for several years remained unoccupied. A few miles before reaching it is an extensive valley called Astartek, well cultivated, and apparently thickly peopled.

Of the line of forts from Oljinski on the Kooban, the first erected, at the distance of twenty-two miles, is named Abyn; the second, ten miles further, Nicolaefski; and the third, at an interval of twelve miles, lies within the intrenchments of a camp on the Doba, a small stream falling into the bay of Sejouk-Kalleh at its southern extremity. Thus a space, somewhat in the shape of a triangle, was enclosed, one side of which was formed by the Kooban and Russian frontier from Oljinski to the sea, measuring direct fifty English miles; the second, by the sea from the lake of the Kooban to the Doba, thirty-eight miles; and the third, by a chain of new forts from the Doba to Oljinski, forty-five miles. Every spot upon the shore where vessels could approach was subsequently occupied by a fort; but many of these posts appear, from recent accounts, to have been abandoned.



The bay of Ghelenjik, less spacious than that of Sejouk-Kalleh, and more enclosed, is, like that anchorage, open to all westerly winds, which, however, are seldom violent; whereas, the sudden gusts from the land are dangerous, the more so, as the anchorage is insecure, in consequence of the abrupt shelving of the bottom. Ghelenjik is the principal permanent naval station on the coast. The fort stands on low ground, within the bay, on its southern side, and is commanded by heights to the east. It consisted simply of a trench and parapet, breast high, on three sides of a square, the extremities of which, leaving the fourth open to the bay, were usually defended by two gun-boats, though, I believe, there were not more than eight guns mounted on the walls. The situation is very insalubrious, which is in some measure accounted for by the proximity of a watercourse partially filled up. Though the post has been occupied since 1830, with a view to making it a naval rendezvous, there were a few years ago no buildings erected for the stores, which were still piled up in the open air, and covered only with mats. Hay was imported from Russia, though the fort looks round on a fertile valley; but as the Circassians are numerous in the immediate neighbourhood, there was no safety for the garrison beyond the range of their own cannon.

The cliffs seen more to the north, now entirely disappear, and hills, covered with wood, sweep down to the sea, and rise in higher and bolder groups towards the south. Valleys, each opening from a small bay, and ap-

parently populous and well cultivated, are also very numerous. The places where Russian settlements were contemplated, and afterwards established, were Pshad, Michelefsk, Tenginsk, Chardak, Wilhelminefsk, Lasarefsk, on the Tuab river; Golowinski, on the Subashi; Shoodsh, Mamai, Adler, and Gagra.

Gagra lies at the foot of two lofty mountains of secondary formation, which constitute a narrow and dark gorge, closed behind by a steep mountain of the central chain, whose summit is covered with snow. This position is the key to the important pass along the beach, the whole breadth of which it occupies. The fort, erected about twenty years ago, was, like all the others, a quadrangle; three sides being partly formed of the walls of a very ancient ruin—a convent probably of the Lower Empire—and the fourth, towards the sea, of fascines, with six guns. At the right angles, guns enfiladed the inland walls, and an English 18-pounder commanded the gorge; there were in all eighteen or twenty cannon. The garrison was then composed of a battalion with detachments, mustering 700 men. The situation is exceedingly unhealthy; and some years since fever and dysentery prevailed to such a degree, that, of eighteen officers, eight had died in the course of the preceding ten months. Their hospitals were miserable sheds, crowded with sick; and every one in the fort had a most cadaverous complexion. There was only one well in this fort, which occasionally failed; and though a rivulet flows out of the gorge close by, the garrison was often not strong enough to reach it, the

Circassians being in great force in the neighbourhood, and enterprising in their hostilities.

From a mountain on the left protrudes a shoulder, commanding the interior of the place; and here the Circassians presented themselves, at a spot bare of wood, and directed a fire which obliged the garrison to keep under shelter. Men were even sometimes killed in the hospital; and so incessant was the risk of attack, that dogs were sometimes driven out at night to give the alarm.

South of the central chain, chiefly of the Abasian range, the natives are said to be friendly to Russia, but they are of a turbulent and faithless character. The coast is flat, low, and woody, the mountains being distant.

Nine miles south of Gagra, on a stream called the Bsyba, intrenchments were at that time thrown up. Two miles further on, and some way inland, is a noble ruin, and just behind this a cape, forming the left extremity of Pitzunda Bay, which is entered in a north-east direction. Here there is anchorage in twenty fathoms water close to the shore. The fort is a mile inland, and encloses the ruin already mentioned, seen from the sea, and a convent and church, apparently of more recent date than that at Gagra. No cannon were then visible from the sea, and the garison only mustered about 120 men. The fort on the Bsyba is its dependency, and had a bad reputation for sickness; but Pitzunda itself is healthy. The country round is very fine and park-like.

At Bombari, eleven miles south from Pitzunda, and twenty-five from Gagra, the shore is low, with surf. Close to the fort was a small redoubt of two guns and sixty men, and containing two hovels. The fort itself is two miles inland, and had a garrison of 600 men, with a few guns. It adjoins a small village, in which some traffic is carried on by Armenians and Georgians.

At a distance of two miles further inland is Lectra, the possession of an Abasian chief, who held Russian rank and orders. He lived there surrounded by dependents. Bombari is the head-quarters of the General commanding all the troops on the coast south of the central chain. Circassians have often made inroads into these parts from over the mountains, and once destroyed a village under the very guns of the fort, as well as an Abasian settlement, and carried off many prisoners. Bombari and Pitzunda were first occupied by the Russians in 1830.

Twenty-two miles beyond is Sekoum-Kalleh, a place well known. It stands in a bay, the anchorage of which is insecure, and open to the sea, and noted for violent and sudden squalls of wind which descend from the heights behind—a mountainous group connected with the Caucasus. The fort, which is on the north part of the bay, was some years ago nearly dismantled, and in a dilapidated condition, having undergone no repairs since its capture from the Turks; and the garrison, about 400 strong, corresponded in their appearance with the desolation around, the environs being very unhealthy.

At another bay, three miles south, is Kelassour, where there are ruins, supposed to be those of Deoscurias, and two miles farther on, in the same direction, is Dranda, a small fort. Communication is not safe in the surrounding country, and the Russians never move without strong escorts, as the natives, although acknowledging dependence, are really hostile, and often commit outrages.

Anaklia, fifty miles from Sekoum-Kalleh, is on the coast of Mingrelia, an organized province of Georgia. Redout-Kalleh, on the river Chopi, once enjoyed considerable prosperity, and promised to become the inlet of great and important transit trade; but these expectations have not been realized.

Poti, on the Phasis, was usually garrisoned only by a single company. It is a bad port, and has a bar of shifting sand at the entrance.

Since these lines have been penned, it is believed that other forts have been erected by the Russians along the Circassian coast, but as some have also been destroyed, I have confined myself, in these observations, to the works which I know to have had existence.

The Turks, like the Greeks of the Lower Empire, originally visited the coast of Circassia merely as traders: and, in the character of strangers, craved the protection of native konaks, or protectors. Two or three isolated forts served no other purpose than as marts for their commerce; and the possession of Anapa never extended their authority into the country. A border clan, in a feud with more powerful neighbours, may, at times, have promised them allegiance as the

price of intervention, but no more general submission to foreign supremacy has ever been recorded. The resolution of the Circassians is indomitable; and I may observe, in conclusion, that a few light guns, if they could be brought to work them efficiently, would render them very formidable. A single six-pounder would, by report, make Gagra untenable. The Circassians are excellent marksmen, but are said to be slow in reloading their rifles, in which they use the old forced ball; hence arms, especially rifles of better make, are much in request, as well as ammunition. These, it is to be hoped, have now been abundantly supplied.

All parties in Russia, though differing as to the means, agree that the entire subjugation of the Caucasians is a political necessity, both in reference to the security of the Russian provinces beyond the mountains, and for the development of her power in Asia. The circumstance of an intervening region, inhabited by a warlike and independent people, through which communication is often impeded by their occupying a single defile, has ever been a subject of inquietude and mortification; and this obstruction may now be raising a more intense feeling, with the expectation of its becoming an insuperable barrier.

## CHAPTER XXI.

THE CRIMEA—KOZLOF—JEWISH SYNAGOGUE—RUSSIAN TRAVEL-  
 LING—SYMPHEROPOL—TARTAR RACES—THE GARDEN PALACE  
 —EXCAVATED DWELLINGS—JAFOOT-KALLEH—JEWISH CEME-  
 TERY—SEBASTOPOL—DEFENCES OF SEBASTOPOL—SHIPS OF WAR  
 —NEW DOCKS—BALA-KLAVA—MONASTERY OF ST. GEORGE—  
 TARTAR VILLAGE—ANCIENT PASS—ALOUPKA—SALT LAKES.

THIS was my second visit to Odessa; and after a short stay I left it to return to England by way of Constantinople. On the previous occasion I had made a tour in the Crimea, and though it was anterior in date to my journey in the Caucasus, this seems the proper place to introduce the result of my observations in that peninsula, with reference to its strategical characteristics, connected with passing events, because some parts of it will be more intelligible after the perusal of the former narrative.

The steamer in which I had determined to leave Odessa for the Crimea was detained several days by the repairs, which, just as she was about to sail, it was discovered were required by the engine. Being a Government conveyance, no pains were taken to spare time and trouble to the passengers, and false alarms as to the hour of sailing were given again and again, so





that, during her detention, we were kept moving to and fro from the vessel to the shore half a dozen times in the day. As the steamer was anchored half a mile out, and it was blowing hard all the time, these trips were by no means agreeable; and one boat was swamped just as its passenger was leaving it, though he escaped with a ducking. At length we really got under weigh, and steamed out of the harbour. Towards night we had rain, which continued for two days, with a high wind, and as the engine was weak, and the vessel badly managed, we did not reach our port at Kozlof until the second morning.

Kozlof is situated on a bay, on the western side of the Crimea, and at about half way between its north and south extremities. Close by is the large salt lake of Guilan, and the surrounding country consists of steppe and marsh. It is quite a Tartar town, traversed by narrow dirty streets, and has a bazaar, with covered passages and open shops. There is, however, a fine mosque, several centuries old, which we entered without obstruction, and found the people at prayers. Their mode of worship, except when too much excited, was impressive. They prayed in silence, except when the word "Allah" occurred. They were all kneeling, but their bodies at the same time rested, as it were, on their heels.

Kozlof contains many Caraïte Jews, who have long been settled in the Crimea. An account of their belief and their history is given in the "Archives du Nord," by M. de Roguet, who describes them as being attached

to the Old Testament, but rejecting the authority of the Talmud. They existed in Spain in the twelfth century, but were driven from that country by the intrigues of the Rabbinists. Members of the sect are to be found in Egypt, Volhynia, and Lithuania. They dress like the Moslems, but do not shave the head. They are a handsome people, and have no resemblance to the other Russian Jews, being noted for cleanliness, probity, and respectability. We visited the synagogue, where there was a curious cloister, of antique appearance, blazoned with Hebrew inscriptions, but the interior of the building presented nothing peculiar.

We were detained on board the steamer a great part of the day by various interruptions, occasioned by quarantine, custom-house, and police officers, and on landing were stowed in a most wretched hostelry, admitting wind and rain, until the postmaster, a Rabbinical Jew, vouchsafed, after a considerable interval, to furnish us with horses. I was the more surprised at this delay, as I was accompanied by a Livonian major of hussars, who assured the postmaster that we were both proceeding to visit the Governor-General. It was night before we set out, a very dark and disagreeable night, and the major and myself were squeezed into a tilega, and our two domestics into another. These conveyances, narrow open carts of about four feet long, mounted upon four low wheels, which almost touch each other, afford no support for the back; and, from their short and inconvenient form, our knees were kept as high as our chins, while our wheels were level with the part of

the vehicle on which we sat. The horses, generally three abreast, go at a gallop, and in such weather the mud is thrown in showers into the tilega, covering both travellers and their baggage. Added to this, the inexperienced beginner in such travelling has enough to do to keep himself and his traps from being tossed out, which seems inevitable every instant. At first we were disposed to laugh at our situation, but the pains in our aching limbs, and the general discomfort we suffered, wrought a speedy alteration in our feelings, and we found it was no laughing matter. Indeed, I have seen Government couriers arrive in these tilegas at Odessa, after coming the whole distance (about 1000 miles) from Moscow without stopping, with their heavy despatch bag fastened upon them with a lock, and they have actually been lifted out, looking more dead than alive. We were not sorry to be stopped for a few hours in the middle of the night for want of horses, for though the post-house was of the most wretched description, we were able to stretch our jaded limbs. We were here about half way between Kozlof and the new Russian capital of the Crimea, which has been christened Sympheropol, with the usual Russo-Greek termination. This place we reached about noon of the following day, starved and wet, though still in the month of October. We put up at a sorry hotel, as it was styled, kept by a French colonist, whose wife was a German.

The road to Sympheropol is equally flat and uninteresting. On the plains we saw large flocks of the

curled Tartar sheep, whose skins—black, grey, and white—are in much request throughout this region for caps and pelisses, and are even used in trimming the pelisses of our English hussars. Near Synpheropoli we met, for the first time in this country, several Tartar waggons, or arabas drawn by a pair of camels. We afterwards saw great numbers of these animals in the flat part of the peninsula, and met a good many troops on the march towards the mainland from Sebastopol. They were returning, it was said, owing to the absolute exhaustion of provisions in the peninsula. Ancient writers describe the Crimea as producing thirtyfold in grain, but if this was ever the case, it is now greatly altered; at least, the crops had for two years utterly failed, and at the time of my visit there was a general dearth. The horses and cattle were nearly starved, and the people no less so. The failure of the crops was attributed to dry summers. Not a tree was to be seen, and during our whole journey we did not cross a single brook. Artesian wells were then making, but their construction requires the labours of a more advanced population.

Not far from the town of Kozlof are the mud baths of Sack, in which invalids sit up to the chin in mud for hours, but they are only used in summer. In the Crimea the Mahomedan and Jewish inhabitants wear the Tartar dress, very wide trousers, looking like a petticoat, a tight jacket of striped silk, or cotton of a dark colour, and without a collar, and a shawl as a sash round the waist. For this the upper class generally

wrap a caftan, or long loose gown, without collar or buttons; sometimes the sleeves are short, and it is generally worn open in front. Almost all the inhabitants of the Crimea, of every creed and nation, now wear a round lambskin cap, which is an excellent and convenient covering for the head, but the moolahs or priests, hadjees, muezzins, and other divines, still wear the white turban, and that of the moolah has a high *calpak*, or inner cap of green velvet. The moorzas' or nobles' dress is in the Circassian style, a tunic of fine cloth, bordered with silver lace, and faced on the breast with cartridge-cases of red leather; and trouers and a cap of cloth barred with silver lace complete their equipment. This, I believe, is not a very ancient costume here, and seems to be a step towards the adoption of the European habit, though the design from which it is borrowed, as still prevailing among the Circassians, is very old, dating from the Crusades, or earlier. The leather of the Crimea, used, among other purposes, to ornament the tunic, is thick, and very well prepared and tanned, dyeing, beautifully, yellow, bright red, and sometimes green. The Crimea is celebrated for its manufacture.

In wet weather the natives wear a cloak of felt and camel's hair, called a *bourka*, which is the best defence from rain I ever saw. Cold is provided against, among the peasantry, by a pelisse of sheep or lambskin, the wool turned inside, and the rich cover this garment with fine cloth or camlet, forming an excellent protection in the most inclement weather. Near the Black Sea,

however, the winter is gladdened at times by breezes from Asia, which make the air so warm, that furred garments are thrown aside till the cold again sets in.

The architecture of Sympheropol is as varied as the aspect of its inhabitants, being composed of ancient mosques, modern churches, Tartar bazaars and hovels, and whitewashed Russian dwellings, with public offices and guard-houses. The streets are broad but unpaved, and after rain are very muddy, and the buildings seem to have been set down where they stand without any systematic plan. The town is situated on a river of good size. About fifteen miles to the south rises the Chater-Dagh, the highest mountain of the chain bounding the Crimea in that direction, attaining a height of 5000 feet above the Black Sea. Its summit is flat, and looks down on the country at its base, which is woody and picturesque.

The situation of the town is agreeable ; and here we began to perceive that we were about to exchange for a while the dreary monotony of the steppe, for the much-praised "*South shore*" of the peninsula—in short, the ugliness of Russia for the beauty of the Ottoman Empire.

The palace of the Governor-General is on this shore, but he was now residing at a smaller house near Sympheropol, in order to be present at some races in the Tartar style, which were to take place in a few days. The Moorzas, or native gentlemen of the neighbourhood, and indeed all classes, had congregated in the town with the same view. As the Tartars seldom per-

form even the shortest journeys on foot, almost every one keeps a horse; and the horses of the country, notwithstanding their small size, and general poor appearance, are swift and strong. I was not sorry, therefore, to have an opportunity of attending the races, where the natives would be so characteristically employed.

We were on the ground early, and obtained a good view of the proceedings. The first two or three matches were conducted as much as possible on the English plan. In one, a horse of the Governor-General's, the offspring of a sire which he had brought from England, came off the victor, winning a handsome silver cup. The Tartars afterwards had races in the native style, for silk handkerchiefs. One of the party, with the handkerchief flying in his hand, galloped off at full speed over the plain, followed by a crowd of others, who endeavoured to cut him off, and pull it from his hand. They were very expert in following each other, and avoiding collisions, which, in such an animated pursuit, was no easy matter. The handkerchief very often changed hands, and was finally adjudged to the horseman who retained it longest, and tired out the others. Some of the competitors had no saddles, and all rode very well, though, as the ground was rough and slippery, many got heavy falls. Sometimes four or five parties were seen scampering about at once, close to each other, and it required to be on the alert to keep clear of them.

During our stay at Sympheropol, we met many official persons of distinction, and among others the

General who organized the military colonies in the south of Russia, and who at this time commanded the reserve or "colonized" cavalry there. Another of our acquaintances was a grandson of Suwaroff, who, however, inherited none of his ancestor's rough, warlike propensities, but he appeared to possess good talents, and was a great musician. The Emperor, we understood, had pressed him, as he does all men of family in Russia, to enter the military service, and he was about to do so, but with evident reluctance.

My companion and myself being desirous of visiting Sebastopol, we set out by a pretty good road, provided with bridges, intending to proceed afterwards to Aloupka, where we were to rejoin the Governor-General, whose principal residence and estates were in that neighbourhood.

We reached Batchee Seraï (20 miles from Sympheropol), with our party, early in the afternoon, and repaired to the ancient, but now somewhat ruinous, palace of the Khans; where, although some preparations had been made for our reception, some of us were lodged quite *à la Russe*, my companion and myself being stowed away in a pigeon-hole of a place, without even the usual leather mattress to lie on; so we had to pass the night in our cloaks. Fortunately a supply of provisions had preceded our party in a light waggon; so we had no reason to complain of our fare. Among other things the tea, brought overland from China, was excellent; but we were a little surprised at breakfast to observe some of the party tempering the



refreshing beverage with an infusion of rum, which, though a common practice in Russia, is not an improvement.

Batchee Seraï is situated in an agreeable but rather rocky valley, of but little breadth, and lying at the base of the mountains, which begin here, and extend southwards to the coast. The name signifies "garden-palace;" and the old palace, even in its decay, affords a good idea of an eastern "Seraï." Painted and gilded rooms, with vestibules opening to gardens, in which vines, rose-trees, and cypresses abound, and where fountains throw up jets of crystal water, recall those descriptions of Eastern luxury and magnificence which we read in the pages of Byron and Moore. That of "Hassan's deserted palace," in the "Giaour," might have served for "Batchee Seraï." Various detached buildings, such as kiosks, or summer-houses, adjoin the main building—a considerable portion of which had been the harem; which word signifies neither more nor less than the private chambers of a dwelling, inhabited by the female members of an Eastern family, living in the retirement imposed upon the sex by the custom of those countries. The harem, however, is by no means a prison, at least among the middle classes, the females of whose families ramble about as much as they please, though veiled and concealed from general view by a yasmak, or hooded cloak.

The old town of Batchee Seraï is quite a Turkish place, and up to this time contains few or no Russian settlers. The streets are narrow and abominably

paved, although not worse than those of larger Turkish cities. On each side are to be seen the shops, which in the daytime are quite open, in the usual Moslem style, exhibiting their whole contents. The owner is seen seated cross-legged on a low cushion in the centre of the place, which is usually of small dimensions; and he gravely hands the different articles to his customers, without rising, regaling himself at intervals with a puff of his chibouk.

After dinner we proceeded to the mosque in the garden, where a body of dervishes had been directed to attend and exhibit their ceremonies. These consisted of the combined absurdities of the dancing and howling dervishes of Constantinople; the performers, so to speak, whirling round in a circle, and howling or rather groaning at the same time. The exhibition was anything but pleasing, and we retired somewhat disgusted, after each of the fanatics had received ten paper-roubles (about 8s.) as a recompense.

The following day proved rainy; but in spite of the weather our whole party set out about noon, mounted upon active little horses, to explore the valley up to the chief town of the Caraïte Jews, called Jafout-Kalleh, or Jews' Castle. On the way we stopped at a very interesting spot, designated the Assumption, where a monastery, with its church, and many neighbouring dwellings (the latter now deserted), are cut out of the soft calcareous rock of the valley, and placed at such a height on the side of the nearly perpendicular cliff as to require ladders to reach them. These exca-

vations, which are of great antiquity, are believed to have existed long before the Tartar invasion, and were no doubt resorted to by the Christian inhabitants of that period as places of refuge from their conquerors, and may probably have been enlarged since, and rendered more defensible. The monastery contains a complete Greek church, cut into lofty vaulted aisles, and embellished with the usual paraphernalia. Several monks reside in the edifice, and show it to visitors.

The valley is traversed by a rocky causeway of difficult ascent, from which we soon obtained a view of Jafoot-Kalleh, perched on a ridge at the termination of the valley, which, strategically speaking, it completely commands. A steep zigzag path, which few horses from the plains could climb with facility, leads up to the town. The weather cleared just as we reached it, and we were rewarded, on gaining the summit, with a delightful prospect towards the Euxine and the southern coast, the mountains to the east, &c. In situation the place is quite a fortress, and has, no doubt, often been defended by its inhabitants.

We found the authorities prepared to receive us; and after taking a general view of the place, which is comparatively well built and clean, we entered the synagogue, attended by the chief rabbi and other principal men of the town. A very large and ancient copy of the Old Testament, in manuscript, was lying open, on a gilded metal stand, and I believe it to be one of the oldest and most curious versions of the sacred volume extant. Prayers were said in Hebrew; after

which we proceeded to the chief rabbi's house, where we were regaled with fruits of various kinds, wine, cakes, honey, and other sweetmeats, laid out on a round table, in an apartment of very moderate size, but thickly and richly carpeted in the Turkish style, and surrounded with handsome silk cushions. There were no chairs; and the gentlemen of our party made rather an awkward appearance in their tight European dresses, disposed on the low cushions, from which several found it rather difficult to rise without danger to their strained garments; while those habited in the roomy Eastern costume dropped down and rose with perfect ease; and the ladies had also a decided advantage in this respect.

Our Jewish hosts conversed with much intelligence, through the medium of the interpreter; and we were struck with the propriety of their manners, and their generally prepossessing appearance. The countenances of the young persons were almost all handsome, and the seniors had a dignified and commanding air, while neither had anything of the ordinary Israelitish expression.

Before remounting we proceeded to their burying-ground, which is situated in an oak-wood, and named by them the "Valley of Jehoshaphat," after the great cemetery of Jerusalem. The graves, as usual in Jewish cemeteries in the East, were covered with a large oblong stone of equal breadth and depth, but not fastened in the ground; and this was inscribed with Hebrew writing. Many of the tombs appeared extremely old.

Retracing our steps down the valley to Batchee Seraï, I shortly afterwards set out, with the major of hussars, for Sebastopol, where we did not arrive till long after dark. We passed the remainder of the night in a straw shed in the suburb, as the want of a boat at that hour made it impossible to cross the arm of the sea which divides it from the town. In the morning we effected the passage, and found Sebastopol a great contrast to Batchee Seraï, being a complete Russian town of recent construction. Having procured accommodation at a very indifferent little inn, we visited the naval officer in command at the port, for whom we had brought a letter, and afterwards called on an English engineer, employed on works then in progress in the harbour. It was determined that we should inspect these works next morning, and also go on board several men-of-war. We devoted the remainder of this day to an inspection of the port generally, and of the town and its immediate vicinity.

Sebastopol is certainly the most interesting, though not the most agreeable spot, in the Crimea; and although the construction of ships of war was at this time chiefly carried on at Nicolaïef, upon the river Boug, near its junction with the Dnieper, it is the permanent station of the Russian fleet in the Black Sea. It is situated about five miles to the north of Cape Chersonesus, the nearest point in the Russian dominions to the Bosphorus, and is only about three hundred English miles from Constantinople. Russia did not appreciate sufficiently the importance of this

fine port for many years after obtaining possession of the Crimea; but at the moment of our arrival great activity prevailed in improving the harbour and strengthening the defences, which, if carried through on the scale apparently in contemplation, would constitute a strong fortress. The town and inner harbour lie on the south side of the mouth of an arm of the sea, about three and a half miles in length, and varying in breadth from one to three-quarters of a mile. Several branches from the main creek indent the shore, and two of these enclose Sebastopol to the east and west, so that it is only connected with the land to the south—a situation in this respect somewhat resembling that of the city and port of Malta. The eastern branch, which is upwards of a mile in length, forms the inner harbour, and, close to the shore, is of sufficient depth to allow of first-rate vessels lying at the wharfs, their crews passing at all times between the vessels and their barracks without using a boat. During the severe winter they live altogether in the barracks.\*

The north side of the main arm is flanked by heights which command its entry, and here I observed a fort, which was not then a strong work, being of some age, and of faulty construction. On both sides of the inlet, however, there were strong stone towers with batteries close to the water,—à fleur d'eau. Some of

\* This description of Sebastopol formed part of a Report made at the time to Government. I was not then actively employed.

these had two tiers of heavy guns, and have since been raised still higher. The entry is very deep, and rather narrower than the basin immediately above it. Flag-staffs on each side pointed out small shoals, and a light-house of a peculiar form, and painted white, stood at the inner extremity of the main harbour, upwards of three miles from the town; while another of precisely the same form and colour was visible behind it, about three miles further up the country, and ought to be hid from view by the first, as vessels enter the harbour from the Euxine. These structures, according to sketches made on board the "Retribution," still remain.

The western bay, called Quarantine Bay, where there is a landing-place for boats, is commanded by a strong battery in the town on its eastern shore. To its west are the remains of the ancient Grecian city of Chersonesus, presenting, however, only fragments of stone and marble strewn thickly over the surface of the country. So far as we could judge by tracing on the surface of the ground, it appeared as if the enceinte intended to enclose the town on this side, which was then quite open, was to be a series of bastions and curtains; and quarries were opened in the vicinity which it may be presumed would furnish materials for the masonry, as the thinness of the soil would not provide for earthen works.\* Operations,

\* The portion of the intended inclosure, towards the Euxine, appears, by recent sketches, to be completed, and heavy detached batteries have been added on that side.

however, were now suspended, as the troops, as soon as the repairs of the works on the water side were completed, were, as I have before observed, to be withdrawn. The rocky soil round Sebastopol is difficult of excavation, which, during a siege, is an advantage it would possess as a fortified place.

The construction of roads and bridges through the mountainous districts of the Crimea to Sebastopol, and other points of importance on the southern shore, had lately been commenced, and was carried on with vigour. This will, when finished, facilitate the conveyance of timber, with which the mountains abound, to the different ports, as well as greatly contribute to the general transport of commodities. A strong force could be easily concentrated at Sebastopol. The Russian expedition to Turkey in 1833 came from hence by water, and was encamped in a few days on the heights upon the southern shore of the Bosphorus. It consisted of about 20,000 men, who remained some months within sight of Constantinople.

The day after our arrival at Sebastopol, we proceeded, as arranged, about twelve o'clock, to visit several of the ships of war and the docks. We were in a boat belonging to the Government pulled by ten sailors, and were accompanied by a Russian naval officer. A new ship of 110 guns, built with a round stern, was our first destination. She seemed a fine vessel, but had no men on board beyond a guard. Being intended for a flag-ship, a large suite of cabins was allotted to the admiral. We afterwards visited



several other large ships, one of which, a fine 84, was said to be fast rotting from the rapid decay which always prevails among the vessels in this port, chiefly resulting from a species of worm by which the northern harbours of the Black Sea are infested. It was to provide against this evil that the new docks were under construction; and as there is no tide in the Euxine, a plan had been projected by the English engineer alluded to, for producing an artificial efflux, by means of four locks on the canal which was to feed the basin. The proposed dry-dock was to stand between the two upper locks, considerably above the level of the sea, and when a vessel had passed between the two lower locks, the lowest of these, which was on the sea-level, was to be shut, and a sluice above opened until the depth of water obtained between the lowest lock and the second one above, was sufficient to let the vessel enter the middle basin, and a like operation was to be performed to raise it finally to the dry-dock beyond.

In our way up the creek to Inkermann, we had a good opportunity of seeing this canal. It is about twelve feet broad, and passes through two tunnels, one of which, piercing a calcareous rock, easily wrought, is a work of some extent, being about 1000 feet in length, and 16 in height. To save time, the work had been begun at both ends, and the direction kept by compass. The workmen met exactly at the point intended, at which they were much astonished, and, it is said, attributed the result to magic. The whole harbour,

we remarked, was very deep, and well sheltered all the way to its termination.

We found post-horses, with our baggage and servants, waiting near the caves at Inkermann, which, though not so large, much resembled those we had seen at the Assumption; and mounting, we proceeded through a pleasant country to Bala-Klava, a port on the south shore, settled, in the first instance, it is believed, by the Genoese, and afterwards in the time of Catherine II. by expatriated Greeks implicated in Lambro Kanzoni's unsuccessful attempt to throw off the Turkish yoke. An old castle, which stands to the right of the entrance of the harbour, on one of the high rocks which enclose it on all sides, is reputed to have been constructed by the Genoese; but many of these edifices, existing at different spots on the shores of the Black Sea, and attributed to the Genoese colonists of the middle ages, seem to be of an older date; and the so-called Genoese castle on the Bosphorus has the Greek cross, as well as Greek inscriptions, on several parts of its walls—a strong evidence of Byzantine origin.

The rock at Bala-Klava, on which the castle stands, overlooks the sea, at an angle nearly perpendicular, and is a key to the port and to the interior of the country; but it is in a dilapidated and dismantled state. The port is rather narrow, but very deep—sufficiently so to receive vessels of war of large size. When the wind blows from the shore, the water in the vicinity of the harbour is usually smooth.

We put up at the house of the major who com-

manded the Arnaout corps, permanently stationed at Bala-Klava, and holding numerous posts on the neighbouring mountainous shore, for the purpose of keeping a look-out. The major himself was absent, but, we were hospitably received by his family.

On the following day we proceeded, in a light boat rowed by four of the colonists, to the Monastery of Saint George, situated among the nearly-perpendicular rocks, extending for four or five miles to the west of Bala-Klava, and which are composed of a reddish limestone, having much the appearance of marble. A few hundred yards from the harbour we had a magnificent view of the south shore of the Crimea, bounded to the west by Cape Chersonesus, only a few miles distant, but to the east stretching to a great distance, and exhibiting numerous bold promontories and headlands of various forms, but all lofty and picturesque. About a mile and a half from Bala-Klava is a landing-place, from which two paths branch off, one conducting to the vineyards of the convent, on the lowest portion of the slope; and the other, a difficult and precarious track, leading directly up the rocks to the building, which was again sheltered to the north by other cliffs. From the landing-place to the monastery the shore presents the same precipitous aspect, looking as if the hills which terminate the peninsula in this direction had been broken abruptly off at their highest point towards the sea, though they fall with a long slope towards the interior. The effect from the water was very grand; and after rowing some miles beyond the cape, a striking

landmark presented itself, bearing west, where a pointed rock rose from the sea close to the shore.

We landed in a small bay on the east side of the convent, exactly at a point where the red limestone rock meets the white sandy-looking calcareous stone, which also lies under the soil at Sebastopol and Inkermann. The path, though steep and little frequented, is quite practicable for both horse and foot passengers, but is commanded on every side by steep cliffs, terminating to the westward about three-quarters of a mile from the landing-place, in grassy downs, which slope towards the phanal, or lighthouse, north of the cape, and to Sebastopol and Inkermann. After visiting the convent—a white building in the form of a cross, with a church attached—we ascended to the summit of the cliffs, where our horses, brought round from Bala-Klava, met us. Here we had an uninterrupted view as far as Sebastopol and Bala-Klava, whither we returned in the afternoon by a very agreeable road, skirting the summit of the rocks.

On the succeeding morning we proceeded to Baidar, a Tartar village, situated in a pleasant valley surrounded by woody mountains, very steep on their southern slope, dipping down to the precipitous rocky shore, which is about six miles from Baidar, and four from the top of the hills to the south. We passed over an agreeable country, by a winding path among the hills, and on arriving at Baidar, put up at the house of the Cadi, a snug Tartar dwelling, where we were kindly received. Hence I went on foot to the crest of the hills

towards the sea. The scenery was very wild and fine, and many high cliffs rose above, with eagles soaring over them in great numbers.

Next day we set out at an early hour by a new highway for carriages, intended to be continued along the coast. It was well laid out, being carried in a zig-zag direction down the face of the mountain to the shore, and formed an easy descent, but as yet was only completed a short distance. This pass is very strongly situated.

The whole coast is of much the same character with that already described. Vast cliffs, terminating on the north side in a well-wooded slope, bound the narrow plain; to the south are fields and vineyards, interspersed with rocks, and intersected with numerous streams. At Mahaloutka, about ten miles east of Mechatka, the first village below the heights, is a curious ancient pass, called the Merdven, or Ladder, leading into the interior, and which cannot be ascended on horseback without difficulty. It winds up the crags, and the ascent is rendered somewhat easier by wooden steps, formed of rough logs, laid across and fastened among the rocks, which seem, from below, to rise like a wall above the traveller's head. We were carried up this rough ascent by the horses of a friend of my companion, an officer who had served much in Poland, having been an aide-de-camp of the Grand Duke Constantine at Warsaw, and who had purchased land at Mahaloutka.

Aloupka, whither we next proceeded, is situated in

a delightful spot, a few hundred yards from the Euxine, and a short distance from the romantic rocks bounding the coast of the Crimea. The olive, and many plants which thrive only in a warm latitude, are to be found here; and the trees were now covered with leaves quite green, while at the distance of little more than a mile behind the hills it was comparatively cold, and the forest-trees were stripped of their leaves. The Governor-General's residence, a large and handsome building, close to a Tartar village, is surrounded by English gardens, picturesquely laid out among the rocks.

A short way to the east of Aloupka is Simeis, where the Governor-General's largest property is situated. At this place the olive was again tried for the first time recently in the Crimea, and a superintendent was engaged from Languedoc, or Provence, to attend to its culture. The trees, which appeared very healthy and thriving, were at this time loaded with very fine olives. There are many old olive-trees on the coast of great size, which, as well as the vines, were undoubtedly planted by the Genoese. The latter have run altogether wild, in some places growing to an amazing height and length; and the former, for want of culture, produce no fruit. The cypress thrives extremely well, and there are now a great many young trees of this species on the coast. The two first planted are supposed to be about fifty years old. Many may now be seen amidst the remains of an old fort at Aloupka. Higher up the mountain is another ancient fort, on an elevated

rocky height, marked by a lofty wooden cross. This is a very commanding spot, whence the coast is seen a considerable way on both sides of Aloupka. This village is altogether in the Tartar style, the roofs of the houses being low and flat, and almost hidden by trees, among which the finest walnuts are conspicuous. This tree, which grows here to an immense size, produces a vast quantity of the finest nuts.

We accompanied a party to Orcanda, which also is beautifully situated close to the sea. Here we breakfasted, and the largest portion of the party then returned to Aloupka, but we went on to Ai-Daniel, where are large vineyards, all raised since 1826. Numerous different kinds of grapes are produced upon this property, and at this time an immense cellar was filled with large barrels of various wines which had been made here. Some of these were good; but in general they differed from those of Europe, though carefully made in the same manner. After dinner we proceeded by moonlight, with a guide, to the Governor's residence at Oursouf—an old half-Turkish house, built by the Duc de Richelieu, who was the founder of Odessa, and Governor of that portion of the empire and of the Crimea.

On the following day, in our way to Aloushta, a town situated at the termination of a valley which runs down from the Chatir-Dagh, we passed a singular detached mountain to the right called the Ayou-Dagh, or Bear Mountain, as the natives imagine that it resembles that animal, in a couching position, drinking in the

sea. Our journey from Sebastopol to this place had been performed on the horses of the country—very sure-footed animals—chiefly over rocky paths. From Albushta there was already a carriage-way to Sympheropol, over the range of the Chatir-Dagh, and post-horses were to be had ; but as we had no carriage, we again betook ourselves to telegas, and the change was not for the better. A delay of several hours occurred, waiting for horses, and it was quite dark before we had crossed the mountains. The Chatir-Dagh here rises above thick forests to the north, which, near its base, are chiefly of oak and beech, and higher up of pine. We found the road good and broad, but the ascent was rather steep. These mountains are very picturesque, and are said to abound in deer. They are also frequented by wild hogs, which are supposed to have gradually returned to the savage state, when the Musulmans, who permit no domestic animals of that race to exist near their residences, drove them out of the villages.

After suffering the usual amount of inconvenience which telega travelling entails, we arrived at Sympheropol, and put up at the French inn. From this place we set out in a better carriage for Odessa, whither we arrived after a journey of three days. The second night we slept at Pericop, at the post-house, where the narrow neck of land which joins the Crimea to the mainland is passed, and near which are the salt lakes, where salt is manufactured, the water being, from constant evaporation, much stronger than that of the sea.



At Odessa I took leave of my companion, who returned to his regiment. He was a pleasing and intelligent person, and had made the last Turkish campaign as aide-de-camp to one of the most distinguished Russian Generals.

## CHAPTER XXII.

SEBASTOPOL—MODE OF LANDING TROOPS—POINT OF DISEMBARKATION—PLAN OF CAMPAIGN IN THE CRIMEA—PLAN OF ATTACK ON SEBASTOPOL.

HAVING mentioned the state of the fortifications at Sebastopol, at the period of my visit, I may observe that it is, perhaps, unfortunate that between that time and the year 1853, almost no attention should have been given in England to their condition and progress. It is true that it was visited soon after I saw it, in consequence of my having reported what was then going on, by officers who more than corroborated my views; but when the war broke out, we had absolutely no positive information in England as to whether or not the plan for fortifying the land side of the great naval arsenal of Russia on the Black Sea, had, in the intervening period, been carried to completion. So late as last year (1853) travellers, who, however, were not military men, reported that the town was still altogether open to the land side. Detached works may, however, have existed even then which escaped their observation; and there is little doubt that, since the occurrence of war, the Russians have been busied in extending the defences on that side. The landing-

places near the monastery of St. George towards the sea, are too precipitous to be surmounted in the face of a defending force prepared for such an attempt,—and any force landing on the level shore between Cape Kherson and Sebastopol, would most probably find itself at once engaged in a general action, and would have to fight for a space large enough to encamp upon. I am, therefore, certainly of opinion that a descent made in the immediate neighbourhood of Sebastopol, even with a strong and well-appointed force, especially after so much time has been allowed to Russia to erect fortifications there, and to collect forces for their defence, would be a very bold and indeed hazardous undertaking; and that, while a subsequent hasty re-embarkation, should it occur, without any object having been attained, would, in itself, be inglorious, a great loss in men and matériel would hardly fail to attend such a repulse.

When we consider the great scale on which arrangements must be made for attacking even an imperfectly-fortified place, the heavy and cumbrous cannon and siege stores which it would be necessary to land here, the great quantity of provisions requisite for the support of the besieging corps, to last possibly some months, and which must be collected in a secure situation; and when we take into calculation what a large force ought also to be kept in front of a besieged fortress to resist attempts to raise the siege: when we consider further that the army must land on a level shore, commanded at no great distance by heights of very considerable

strength, and that the area where it would have to make all its preparations, is too confined for the operations of so large a force as would be required for such an attack, I feel persuaded that my view of the subject will be admitted to be just by all who have had experience in such matters, though it may not meet the wishes of many who are too impatient that a blow should be struck at any cost in that direction.

Such are the considerations which suggest themselves in connexion with an attack on Sebastopol; but if the object were to take permanent possession of the Crimea, as well as to capture Sebastopol and the fleet, it appears to me to involve a mere question of the adequate magnitude of the attacking force, and the proportionate scale of the operations engaged in, with due perseverance, in carrying on the struggle.

I believe that if 50,000 or 60,000 men were landed in the bay south of the harbour, and on the heights to the north of the area where there is a fort called Fort Constantine in the Russian survey, and which must not be confounded with the large stone work at Cape Constantine at the harbour's mouth, facing the sea, they would, if only opposed by the garrison, soon carry the place; but, as before remarked, it is difficult to believe that Russia, so sensible of the importance of her great naval fortress, can have left the neighbourhood unoccupied by a very strong force. A landing covered by the fleet to the north of Fort Constantine, would probably, if undertaken, be best effected at the mouth of one of the rivers which exists in that direc-

tion. Elevated flats, sometimes intersected by narrow ravines, separate the valleys through which these rivers flow, and upon this ground a disembarking force might possibly establish itself; but this tract is traversed by the routes leading from Sebastopol to Kozlof and Sympheropol, which are points where strong bodies of Russian troops are likely to be permanently posted. Such a landing would, however, if successfully carried out, be followed, in all probability, by the capture of Fort Constantine, which would give an immediate command over the town and harbour of Sebastopol. The shore, from the great creek of Sebastopol as far as the mouth of the Katsha river,—a distance of about seven miles, rises abruptly from the sea in a cliff of indurated clay, upwards of 100 feet in height; and from thence towards Kozlof maintains the same character, though gradually diminishing in altitude, and disappearing altogether a considerable distance before reaching the harbour of Kozlof, while at the same time the sea at its base becomes shallower. There is a considerable break in this precipitous cliff where the river enters the sea, and similar breaks, though steeper and narrower, occur at the mouths of several other rivers, which empty themselves from this shore into the Euxine.

If the invading force to the south should succeed in disembarking under cover of the fleet, it should immediately seize upon the heights above the monastery of St. George, which, although precipitous on the southern shore, slope towards the landing-places to the north of

Cape Kherson, and have a general command over the plain below as far as Sebastopol. On these heights it could fortify itself, while the landing-places in its rear at the convent, would, in moderate weather, afford facilities for bringing up supplies. The sloping descent from hence to Sebastopol terminates in an inferior height, just to the south of the extremity of the harbour, which it overlooks at a distance, not beyond the reach of heavy artillery. Balaklava is also assailable from the eastern termination of the range of heights behind Cape St. George.

It is very likely that, in the first instance, the Russian Government did not consider it possible that Sebastopol would be assailed by a land force; and on this account they have always deferred completing its defences towards the landing-places and the interior; but, from the moment it became evident that France and England were preparing an expedition for the East, there can be no doubt that the garrison, which consists of some 30,000 men, has been constantly employed in executing and strengthening these works. It appears from a Russian plan, republished at Berlin, that about a third of the *enceinte* on that side had for some time been enclosed with a continuous wall, without bastions, but mounted with cannon—not in itself a very strong defence: and I think it highly probable that this wall has since been extended to the head of the harbour, and even augmented by outworks over that part of the environs of the town which was visited some time ago by an English traveller. The soil is here everywhere

so thin, that the stone which lies immediately below, furnished a large portion of the material for the works of Sebastopol; and this scarcity of earth, by rendering it difficult to throw up temporary fortifications, would demand more time for the erection of works, although they may, when completed, be more solid than is usually the case. A besieging army, of course, would experience corresponding difficulty in the operation of throwing up its trenches and batteries, for which it must trust almost entirely to the less convenient and less substantial method of employing sandbags, fascines, &c., brought by the fleet. The heights of St. George afford much more earth than the plain, and, were they not so bare of wood, would be excellent encamping ground. I cannot answer for the supply of water; but it would, I suspect, be found deficient, even on the plain near the landing-places. At the lighthouse on the point, and at the monastery, there are of course wells; but their scanty supplies would be insufficient for an army on such an occasion. In the East the want of water, even for an ordinary travelling party, is often very severely felt; and its supply must enter into every calculation connected with the employment of troops.

The country to the north of the Sebastopol creek has a much deeper soil; and at the period of my visit, the works of Fort Constantine were wholly constructed of earth, but they have since been increased in size and strengthened by revetments in masonry.

Encampments have been recently seen on the plain between Cape Kherson and Sebastopol, and the valleys

through which the rivers to its north enter the sea, have been observed to be studded with tents, most probably occupied by parties engaged in erecting batteries and other works; and although the plateaus situated between the rivers cannot, from the height and steepness of the shore, be fully viewed from the sea, they are, in all likelihood, also strongly occupied.\* Such appearances seem to heighten the natural difficulties of the northern shore for disembarkation, and these, as the foregoing description will show, consist in the advantage which its elevation, and consequent command over the sea and over the mouths of the rivers, secure to the defending force,—the confined space available to the assailants when landed,—and, lastly, the want of any anchorage on this part of the coast for the fleet except an open roadstead, especially at the season when the equinoctial gales make the Euxine particularly dangerous.

In attacking an insular or peninsular territory by disembarking an expeditionary force from a fleet, one great difficulty which attends it consists in establishing a firm and permanent base on shore from whence to

\* Great difficulty exists in ascertaining the real strength of the Russian force in the Crimea at this moment (Sept. 1854). It has been rated in this country as high as 200,000 men, and as low as 60,000; and an officer who arrived from Omar Pasha's army declares that it is the Pasha's belief that it does not exceed 40,000 men. But it is known that he has always experienced great difficulty in obtaining accurate information about the enemy, even in localities much nearer the scene of his own operations than the Crimea.



commence subsequent operations. This ought to be effected in a situation affording a good harbour for men-of-war and transports, and the local configuration should be such that the troops disembarking might be able at once to take up a position covering their lodgment—if I may use an expression applied to a siege operation—which would give them a secure basis for future proceedings, and shelter when making arrangements preparatory to their advance.\*

Kozlof, or Eupatoria, on the Odessa side of the Crimea, has a harbour and good roads, leading towards Sympheropol, the seat of government, as well as to Sebastopol. But this landing-place is too liable to risk, from its proximity to the mainland, and the roads pass over open steppes, where an enemy, the strongest in cavalry, would have greatly the advantage. I think, therefore, that Kaffa, sometimes called Theodosia, is preferable for a disembarkation. It is an excellent and capacious harbour, and stands at the entry of a minor peninsula,\* in which a body of troops of due strength might, after a short struggle, establish itself, particularly if a simultaneous descent were to be made at Kertch. They might then even fortify the isthmus, preparatory to pushing forward; for it will be understood that I consider it would be by no hurried *coup de main*, but only by a period of steady and continued warfare, that we could effect the subjugation of the Crimea.

As a most important preliminary step, it appears to me that Anapa, on the nearest part of the Circassian

\* The peninsula of Kertch.

coast, should be taken and garrisoned, which would also threaten the right of the Russian line on the Kooban, and in order fairly to liberate the mountain tribes of that country, that any forts on the coast which may still be in Russian possession, should be forthwith reduced. The Circassians, who are very efficient irregular horse, and all other tribes of the Caucasus who could co-operate, should be invited to hasten to Anapa, and as the strait leading into the Sea of Azof is narrow and shallow, the men and their horses could be passed over by means of rafts or lighters, of which there are many at Yeni-Kalleh and other adjacent places, and the native horses, being accustomed to such operations, could even be swum across a distance of several miles astern of the boats, so as to pour into the Crimea a countervailing force to the Cossack and other cavalry of the Russians. Much the same methods might be adopted for the introduction of supplies of cattle and sheep from the Caucasian shores, for the use of the troops.

As to a plan of campaign, although such suggestions as are matter of study at a distance are too often liable to objection, yet from what I have seen of these countries, I think I may, without risking the imputation of very great presumption, venture to point out the advantages of commencing and completing operations in the strongest part of the country, before risking a final advance. The district, called the "south shore" of the Crimea, consists of what is evidently a low and narrow continuation of the Caucasian range, though only

rising above the sea to an occasional altitude of 5000 feet. Twenty miles is the extreme breadth of this hilly country, and it is frequently not more than ten, and even less. Its southern slope is divided from the Euxine by a narrow and often rocky plain, indented by the harbours of Soudag, Oursouf, Yalta, and Bala-Klava, all of which are good. To the north the ridge rises in steep hills and often in rocky walls, wooded at the summit, and occasionally pierced with valleys, having roads leading through them into the interior. The roads to the westward of Aloushta are much the best, and are now excellent highways.

The strong portion of the Crimea comprises the highlands of this southern shore, which might be held by a force not in possession of Sebastopol, though in its immediate proximity. This range of mountainous land is about sixty miles in length, and fifteen in average breadth, reaching nearly from Kaffa to the vicinity of Sebastopol, and its occupation would be a very great step towards the reduction of the whole of the Crimea. The easiest way of assailing this tract from the sea would be to turn the range of heights from the side of Kaffa, where there is no fortress like Sebastopol to oppose an advance.

I shall suppose that a strong force of the allied armies has effected a disembarkation, and having cleared the peninsula of Kertch of the Russian troops, raised such defences across its isthmus towards the mainland of the Crimea, and so effectually secured the sandy ledge of Arabat, as to be able, with perfect prudence, to leave the peninsula in its rear. The route thence to Sym-

pheropol and Sebastopol does not, as has been confidently represented, lead through a hilly or impracticable country, but along the edge of the steppe, not far from where it is traversed by the post-road from Kertch to Sympheropol, at the same time that it has the advantage of neighbouring heights, which would support the left flank of any column advancing upon it, and be available for infantry threatened by a superior cavalry force. I consider it might then be possible for a column of light troops, accompanied by sappers and artificers, and supported by steamers, to pass along the sea-shore, securing each strong point in the passes through the mountain, while the main column of the army would advance along the sloping northern face of the range from Kaffa, where it dips towards the steppes of the Crimea. As both columns, advancing parallel to each other, reached in succession the small passes leading across the heights, they would seize and fortify them sufficiently to secure the means of future retreat through any one of them, if retreat should unfortunately be necessary, as well as to prevent any attempts on their rear; and for these reasons the improvement of the roads through the passes would be very desirable. These measures would, in case of necessity, afford means of re-embarking at whatever might be the nearest harbour on the coast, if a retrograde movement should be called for, leaving only a sufficient rear-guard to cover the retreat in the strongest part of the pass, which, as we have supposed, would have been previously strengthened by field-works, so situated that

the enemy could not make them available against the rear-guard, when it abandoned them, or against the army should it again advance, while they would serve at the same time as defensive positions.

The routes along the shore near the sea, below the mountain range between Kaffa and Aloushta, were, unlike those to the west of the latter place, very rugged and unconnected at the time of my visit to the peninsula; and should they still be found too difficult for a column of light troops to advance upon, descents might probably be made from the steamers at the landing-places opposite the small passes, so as to co-operate with the main column above, as it reached the debouching points, which would possibly answer as well as the continued advance of a light column along the shore.

I imagine that the whole mountain tract of the south shore might thus be taken possession of from Kertch to Sebastopol; but it is, of course, to be expected that some hard fighting would occur before this result could be attained; and even after the highlands of the south shore were securely occupied, the flat country of the Crimea might become the theatre of a very severe struggle before the whole peninsula could be cleared of hostile troops. But while the allies would have in their rear a strong country bordering on the sea, from whence they could draw their supplies, the Russians would have a flat country without a single position to retire upon; and in the event of being beaten, they would be forced back upon the isthmus of Pericop, and

driven over it beyond the limits of the peninsula. Their supplies, too, in the Crimea, must all pass over this isthmus, as our supremacy afloat would enable us to stop all water transit, not only over the sea on the Odessa side, but also on that of Azof, as small steamers, gun-boats, and the very launches of our ships of war might, I have been told by good naval authority, enter that shallow inland sea, and sweep it clear of every description of vessel.

The possession of the minor peninsula of Kertch, followed in succession by that of the southern harbours and passes of the Crimea, would virtually comprise the whole of that shore, the ports of which are accessible throughout the year ; and, with the capture of Anapa and the isle of Taman, threatening, and, indeed, turning the Russian line of the Kooban, would be a very successful and desirable result for a first campaign, even though the reduction of Sebastopol, which these operations would in some measure cut off from Russia, should have to be deferred till the following year ; but even the capture of the town of Sebastopol from the land side would not be a serious undertaking to a victorious army, in possession of the strong position of the south shore and supported by a powerful fleet ; and its sea batteries and the ships in its harbour would then fall easily under their combined fire. For this purpose siege-guns might be required on shore ; but Bala-Klava and its excellent harbour would then have fallen, and would afford facilities for landing, if no nearer place should be available. Numerous ships and many troops

would be requisite for these operations; but without such a force, all thoughts of disturbing the Crimea anywhere to a serious extent must be abandoned. While advancing along the south shore, the allied column on the north side of the heights, as well as the detached parties to the south, would have the advantage of manœuvring in a country where a large proportion of cavalry would not be indispensable; but on advancing across the steppes towards Pericop, a field eminently calculated for the employment of that arm would begin: and it is to be hoped that by that time we might assemble a strong force of cavalry for the purpose.

The foregoing seems an approximation to the best plan of operations which could now be adopted in an attack on the Crimea; and as a large Russian force, if not already on the spot, would certainly be hurried into the peninsula when it was known to be threatened, there is no denying that it is an undertaking of great magnitude, and of no little difficulty, especially if the passes through the mountains of the south shore should have been lately strengthened; which, as the possibility of such an attack, in the event of a rupture with the western powers, has long been quite obvious to the Russians, is by no means improbable.

It may not be out of place, when on the subject of plans of campaign, to observe that should the combined armies advance through Wallachia, they will arrive at that line which has elsewhere been suggested as a new frontier for the Ottoman empire towards Russia in Europe, and which rests its right on Galatz, and its

left on the Carpathian range, especially if Ismael is reduced. It may be observed that this would be a short and secure front for the armies while in winter-quarters, and it could doubtless be rendered stronger by artificial means, and strong posts established in its short and convenient line, with the Danube close at hand to furnish supplies.

The season is now far advanced (August 1854), and it does not appear a trifling consummation to relieve Wallachia from the presence of the enemy before winter, although the armies should not advance further for the present season. Austria may perhaps, this autumn, drive back the Russian right beyond the Pruth: and the formation of a short fortified line to cover Wallachia, in case of emergency, would seem very expedient.

I cannot refrain from saying a few words on the unthinking impatience evinced by the *non-military* public on the subject of attacking the Crimea. Surely there would be no satisfaction in an unsuccessful effort against it, and in such hands as those it has been confided to, we may safely trust that the most courageous, as well as the most prudent course will be adopted.

If our leaders of experience and those of our allies required to be instructed by those who are in reality totally without experience in the management of a campaign, the prospect before us would indeed be discouraging, and we could not too soon sheathe the sword.

Again, to suppose that the cholera or other sickness would have been warded off by the severe fatigue of such a campaign as that contemplated, is to display



great ignorance of antecedent events, for at no time was the mortality among the Russian troops in 1828-9 so great as when actively employed in military operations.

The great Duke, in his decided manner, always declared to those who enjoyed his confidence, when symptoms of impatience showed themselves at home, that he "would not move an inch till all was ready."

## APPENDIX.

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### APPENDIX.—No. 1.

*Extract of the Communication alluded to at p. 3, relative to the expediency of defensive preparations in Turkey, dated Therapia, near Constantinople, 6th July, 1853.*

“ I VENTURE to submit a few reflections which occurred to me when formerly in this country, connected with its defence on the side towards Russia. .

“ In the first place, the line of the Danube is so extended, and the nature of the country in its immediate vicinity so favourable for a large manœuvring army, if opposed to one in such an imperfect state of training as that of Turkey,\* that it seems almost hopeless that they should meet their opponents successfully in such a locality, unless powerfully supported.

“ It may therefore be submitted that the best plan of operations would be only to garrison the fortresses on the Danube, and, as soon as possible, duly to strengthen the line of the Balkan, as the best situation in which the Turkish army could receive its assailants.

“ With this view everything should be done to put Shumla and Varna in as complete a state of preparation to receive

\* At the period at which this communication was written, not above 40,000 Turkish troops had been collected towards the frontier.

their garrisons as possible; and, moreover, all the passes leading through the mountains in their rear, should be artificially strengthened with field-works, looking towards those fortresses. It would be impossible to prepare such works at a period when active operations might be going on in the field, and the expense would be greatly diminished by employing the troops already in that neighbourhood in their construction, before their dispersion renders this impossible. There is a range of mountains called the Lesser Balkan, behind the great range looking towards the sea, the passes through which near Faki, should also be strengthened with a view to their occupation, as a force landing behind the passes through the Balkan, which lie in rear of Varna, might otherwise turn the main position, and penetrate from thence into the country.\*

“Should the enemy succeed, as before, in reaching Adrianople, it is believed that Constantinople might still be defended by occupying positions WHICH EXTEND FROM THE CREEKS OR LAKES CALLED BUYUK CHEKMAGEE AND KUTCHUK CHEKMAGEE, ON THE SEA OF MARMORA, TOWARDS THE BLACK SEA. These positions, however, ought also to be artificially strengthened.

“Lastly, the peninsula on the European side of the Dardanelles, ought to be strengthened against a land attack BY WORKS RAISED ACROSS THE NARROWEST PART OF THE ISTHMUS NORTH-EAST OF GALLIPOLEI, as most of the batteries on that side of the strait could easily be carried from the heights behind them, if left as they now are. It would also be very desirable that the Gulf of Saros, behind that peninsula, should be accurately surveyed, and the soundings near the isthmus correctly laid down, a favourable opportunity for doing which is, I presume, afforded by the presence of the fleet. I say this in the belief that no such survey at present exists. In the event of our ships having at any period to act there, and possibly to land troops, this would be found of great utility.

\* The allied fleets were at this time still in Besika Bay.

Works are to a certain extent in progress in rear of the batteries on the Bosphorus, which was a precaution much called for. *The other localities I have adverted to would require the careful examination of scientific officers of engineers,\** who might afterwards lay down the works and superintend their execution; and I fear that the Turkish military establishment does not afford a sufficient number for this undertaking; and it is indeed the impression on my mind that the whole staff arrangements in this country are still very deficient, which has led me to point out, though in a manner which may perhaps be considered very crude and imperfect, the expediency of these measures. I presume that it is ascertained that the Bays of Bourgas and Varna would afford practicable stations for our ships of war; but I am informed that the shores of the Black Sea generally are not very well known to any navy, unless it

\* I believe that the distinguished commission which visited Gallipoli some months after this communication was made, having reconnoitred very particularly the whole length of the isthmus, selected, as the most suitable position for a line of works, the narrowest part of it, which lies six or seven miles above Gallipoli, and where it is about three miles broad, and presents the favourable features pointed out in my communications of the 6th July and 11th October, 1853, as given above. As perceived from the first, it was very advisable to select the shortest line, if otherwise suitable, because the labour and expense of erecting even field-works here would be thereby greatly diminished; and it must be borne in mind that the construction of permanent fortifications may be afterwards adopted, with a view to leaving Turkey, at the conclusion of the war, in greater safety from fresh attacks on the part of Russia. On this account, and to make the works defensible by as small a force as possible, fine positions several miles higher up the strait were rejected, and the works are now constructing at the narrowest part of the isthmus on a plan which will admit of their being ultimately rendered permanent. Though they do not form quite a straight line, but retire on the left, and keep along the high ground, owing to the configuration of the shore and of the heights, they are shorter than a line of works would have been drawn at that point directly across the isthmus. \*

be that of Russia,\* and its various harbours, which are, I believe, difficult to find except by running along shore, are not accurately laid down. Some previous examination of the ports of the Turkish shore, made while it may be practicable, might, I should suppose, prove very useful if our squadron were hereafter to enter the Black Sea, which could at present be best done, perhaps, by British naval officers, assisted by some able seamen, on board a good Turkish steamer, with a commander and men generally acquainted with these coasts.

“If the principalities are to be forcibly occupied by Russia, it is very probable that troops may frequently be sent by water between the peninsula of the Crimea and the opposite shore, to which our cruisers in that sea might cause great interruption, and by assailing Odessa (which I believe still only possesses an insignificant fort), as well as other open places on the coast, they might draw forth the Russian squadron from its stronghold of Sebastopol.

“I wrote some account of that harbour† and its works then finished and in progress, when I was there, and of Bala-Klava near it.

“The memorandum was entitled ‘Remarks on the Operations of Russia near the Black Sea.’”

#### APPENDIX.—No. 2.

*Extract of a second communication relative to the expediency of defensive preparations in Turkey, made after returning to England, 11th October, 1853.*

“WHEN I was at Constantinople in summer, apprehensions existed that the advance of the Russians would not stop at the Danube, which caused me to make some suggestions upon that subject of a professional nature.

\* It is doubtful whether they are known even to the Russians.

† Sebastopol.

“Having formerly passed a considerable time in the provinces and capital of Turkey, I am enabled to speak of the country from personal observation; and as there is again apparently a renewal of agitation in the East, I would observe, that I think that even though the Russians were to be the conquerors in case of hostilities with the Turks,\* and even though they were to effect the occupation of Constantinople, the Dardanelles might still be held by a power having the command of a fleet, even though that fleet might not be on the very spot at the moment; *but this could only be done if that position were to be augmented in strength on the land side.* On the Asiatic side of these straits, forts were erected about the time of Mehemet Ali's defection, from a fear of his advancing and seizing on that important channel; but when I last passed through it, no new work had been even commenced on the European side, which is a peninsula connected by a narrow neck with the mainland. In case of a land attack, it could not be defended by the old Turkish castles or batteries, chiefly on the water's edge; and if the peninsula were once occupied, they must themselves very soon fall into the hands of the assailants.

“To prevent such an occupation by a force passing over the neck or isthmus, *I would propose that a strong line of defensive works should be erected across its narrowest part, which is only a few miles broad, and at which point the slope of the land is favourable for the purpose. It lies some miles above (that is, north-east of) Gallipoli.*

“As the fortification of the isthmus would require time, and as the winter there is usually not so severe as to prevent such works from being proceeded with, it might be worthy of consideration whether they should not be commenced as soon as the risk of hostilities in spring may appear to be imminent.

“If the Russians were enabled to advance on Constanti-

\* At this time the formation of an Allied Expeditionary Force had not been publicly discussed.

nople, there is no doubt they would make a simultaneous movement on the Dardanelles, and would easily carry the batteries on the European side by the gorge—I say, the gorge, as the works have only thin walls on the land side.

“Constantinople itself is so extensive, that an army might occupy its inland portions without fear of being dislodged by a fleet, though it might bombard and batter the districts near the water. A struggle of this kind would cause the entire destruction of the city, but mere operations from the sea would have little other result.”

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APPENDIX.—No. 3.

*Extract of a communication similar to the preceding one, dated  
November, 1853.*

“On the Adrianople side the country resembles the rest of the immediate neighbourhood of Constantinople, but at the distance of two hours it ascends considerably, and beneath the last height in that direction lies the lake of Kutchuk Chek-magee. This lake is separated from the sea by a marshy tongue or isthmus, narrow, and divided by outlets from the lake, which is brackish. The breadth of the lake is here about three-quarters of a mile, but it increases higher up, and at the distance of three or four miles divides into a fork, that nearest Constantinople receiving the river which anciently bore the name of the Bathynias.

“At the Great Lake, about two hours further on, beyond a country of heights and valleys, is also a position which looks down upon the lake and isthmus of Buyuk Chek-magee; the latter of which is reached by a zigzag road, descending from the crest above into the town of that name.

“The spot is very strong, but nothing has been done by art to render it stronger. A few works on the heights above,

and to the left of the town near a burying-ground, would command the isthmus, and close the road from Adrianople, or even a couple of Martello towers in advance of the bridge, not immediately commanded from the heights in that direction, might possibly lead to the last-mentioned result. As it is, there is not a gun near the spot, and the country is generally smooth and open. Nothing seems done with judgment, on any side, to cover the capital, so strongly situated by nature.

*“ The lakes in question form the left of a strong defensible line, which has its right on the fort of Kara Bornoo on the Black Sea, which is again strengthened by the proximity to its front of another large salt lake. Between this fort and Domusdereh, near the entry of the Bosphorus, there is no practicable landing-place for a hostile force. The town of Chatsalda is about ten miles from the passage over the marshy ledge which separates the greater lake (Buyuk Chekmagee) from the sea. That lake is gradually lost in marsh near Chatsalda, and the advance of troops might be rendered very difficult by taking advantage of the country immediately east of that place, and strengthening it artificially. The distance from Chatsalda to the Black Sea is about thirteen miles, and a little to the north-east the range of the Little Balkan begins, which runs pretty steeply down to the shore of the Bosphorus, but slopes more gradually towards the Black Sea. The routes through it are difficult and unmade, and there can be little doubt that this line, if properly strengthened and defended, would put Constantinople beyond the risk of capture. It would cover effectually the great bends or reservoirs on which the city depends for water, and the country which would be enclosed by it might be rendered prosperous and fruitful, so as to yield supplies to the capital.*

*“ The unfavourable treaty of Adrianople in 1829 was hurriedly concluded to save Constantinople from the presence of Diebitsch’s army, the advance guard of which had reached Chatsalda. The facts which I have represented in this letter*



I lately communicated through an influential channel to the proper authorities at the Porte, but I know not whether they have profited by the suggestions."

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APPENDIX.—No. 4.

*Memoranda of Excursions in the neighbourhood of the Bosphorus.*

LEAVING the north end of Buyukdereh, I proceeded up the cliffy valley which runs north-west from the back of the village, towards the Black Sea, and which is, on both sides, very abrupt, particularly on the right hand, while the country round is bushy and broken. After an ascent of more than a mile, by a very practicable horse-road, which, with a little trouble, might be made available for carriages, I reached the crest of the heights from which the Black Sea, distant about five miles, is distinctly seen. At the back the view embraces the Bosphorus, from Buyukdereh to the turn above Roumeli Hissar, and the country towards Constantinople. A range of heights, forming the northern enclosure of the Bosphorus, rises to the right, overlooking the forts which border the strait, and which lie directly beneath. Rounding a rocky eminence, a turn in that direction brought me on to its ridge, along which I proceeded till I reached the lighthouse at Fanaraki on the Black Sea, just where it gives forth the waters of the Bosphorus. The heights are, in surface, nearly flat, with a slope towards the sea; but, on the other side, descend very abruptly to the Bosphorus; and on the left is a deep narrow valley, having a similar but lower ridge beyond, running out into counterforts, or bastion-like hills, with considerable command. The road being sandy, is at all times very good for wheels, and many paths branch off in different directions. The heights must be a complete key to the weak

forts on this side of the Bosphorus, and indeed command several on the other side at the narrowest parts, at least with shells; yet, if I except some wooden blockhouses erected here in 1853, no attempt has been made, by erecting works along this chain, to cover the rear of the forts; for such an object certainly cannot be effected by the fortress of Karibjeh, a small tower or two, and a circular battery of masonry in decay, which stand behind the second fort on entering the strait, and which is extremely ill-placed. There is a fine view from the lighthouse, to which I was unable to gain admission on my first visit, as the keeper, who was said to be at Stamboul, had gone off with the keys; but, on a second occasion, I was more fortunate, and ascended to the top. The shore is very rocky and abrupt, and I was informed that there was no road along the water's edge of the Bosphorus to Buyukdereh. To the north of the town and lighthouse, quite on the Euxine, is a small bay and creek, where I saw large fishing-vessels hauled ashore on the gravelly beach. Beyond, close to the sea, is the loop-holed fort called Roomeli Bornoo, merely surrounded by a strong wall without cannon. The ground near is a little higher than it.

On returning from the village, I passed down a rocky descent to the bay below this fort, instead of going back by the road I had come upon. Crossing the creek at its top, by a wooden bridge of some length, which appeared to be at the mouth of the valley, and keeping the Bosphorus in the rear, I proceeded along the shore, to the fort or castle of Killia, whence there is a full view of the Black Sea, on which, indeed, it stands. The structure, which has several bastions, but no ditch or glacis, resembles the defences on the Bosphorus, though it is of better construction, and, for the kind of work, seems pretty well executed. In line near it are three high narrow square towers, forming a *suterazee* for the supply of water, which might be easily destroyed. The space between the castle and the lighthouse is indented by several small bays

terminating the vaileys, and having a gravelly beach, sheltered by rocks.

Turning back to Buyukdereh by a good road with occasional fragments of old causeway, I crossed the deep valley between the heights, keeping on past the lighthouse till I regained the rocky eminence behind Buyukdereh, from which I had first descended. I observed that the shore was very imperfectly covered by the two castles, which are about five miles apart; and Killia could easily be taken, and be converted into a sort of *point d'appui*. The whole country, like that behind Buyukdereh, is bushy and very undulating—indeed abrupt, but not rocky or difficult to cross. It offers favourable ground for light infantry, or even light cavalry; and has some good villages and farms, and plenty of water and wood.

From this point the heights first described present a still more position-like appearance, and good redoubts or Martello towers, with a ditch and glacis, would make them very strong. I passed through the villages of Scombri Kioi, Sakara Kioi, &c.; and not far from the route was the range which supplies water to Constantinople, by the bends or reservoirs. The following is a statement of the time occupied by the excursion:—

	Hours.
To the lighthouse . . . . .	1½
To the last fort (Killia) . . . . .	1
Return to Buyukdereh . . . . .	1½
Total . . . . .	4

This includes stoppages; and my pace was the ambling canter of the country. The distance, as afterwards measured, on Sebastopulo's map, is 18 miles as the crow flies.

On a second excursion, instead of keeping so much to the right as the rocky eminence ascended before, I proceeded by a better road leading over the height to the left of it, and which makes an obtuse angle with the position, looking well down the valley to the north in its front. Hence I, could see the

castle of Killia directly to the north, the heights near the European lighthouse being, as far as I could guess, north-east. The commanding eminence from whence I enjoyed this extensive view, covers the valleys behind, and is an advanced point in the position. It is probably two and a-half miles from Buyukdereh. Proceeding a little to the left, I opened northwards a square old castle—Ovid's Tower, also on high ground, to the right of a small wood, and constituting a good landmark. To this I bent my steps, passing through the Turkish village of Sakara Kioi, and crossing a grassy valley with gentle slopes, from which the tower is about a mile distant. On reaching it, I found a Roman-looking building 50 feet by 30, formerly three stories high, but now without a roof. Apparently, however, it might be easily repaired, which is very desirable, as it has a fine view over the country, including Sombri Kioi, though the castle of Killia on the sea is not well seen from it, but must bear about  $20^{\circ}$  east of north. Turning to the south, or left of the small wood, I proceeded up the valley, which continues for some way, presenting a fine undulating country, partially wooded and well cultivated. Just before entering the forest of Belgrade, at about half a mile from Ovid's Tower, is another fine view.

After riding about a quarter of an hour through woody hilly ground, I opened the valley of Batchi Kioi. This I did not enter; but inclining to the right, through the wood, in a quarter of an hour more reached the bend or reservoir of Sultan Mahmoud. Thence, shaping my course a little west of north, I pushed through the forest, and, in ten minutes, came in sight of the village of Belgrade, at the bottom, and passed through it, ascending the valley towards the right, to the Buyukdereh aqueduct. The bend lay still further to the right, while the village of Batchi-Kioi was a little on my left. Passing under an arch of the aqueduct, which spans a good road partly paved, I descended the valley to Buyukdereh.

On a third excursion, I crossed the Bosphorus from Therapia,

and landing at Hunkiar Skalasi, proceeded up the neighbouring valley, passing the Sultan's kiosk on the right. This is an excellent place for a camp, affording wood, water, and fine turf: and was occupied in 1833 by the Russian corps of 20,000 men, which came to Turkey from the Crimea. The position is extensive, and overlooks the Bosphorus; but a corps posted here could not interfere with an occupation of the heights on the west side of the strait, which I visited in my two previous rides, as the passage across the Bosphorus would be extremely difficult.

About a mile up the valley I turned to the left, and ascending the heights, in about an hour and a-half gained the summit of the Giant's Mountain, a commanding spot, marked by a building called the Tomb of the Giant, from whence the whole Bosphorus is as fully seen as from any other point. A deep valley, without roads, separates this hill from that surmounted by the large ruinous building, usually called the Genoese Castle, about a mile higher up. A *détour*, on a good road, exposed some flat ground behind fit for encampment. From thence to the lighthouse of Asia, which may be rather more than six miles by the road, the country is more hilly and difficult, and covered with brushwood, while deep valleys run through it down to the Bosphorus. The lighthouse is protected by a small fort, and from its top commands a good prospect of the Black Sea and Bosphorus. As far as the eye can reach there is no castle or fort visible on the Asiatic side of the Black Sea. Koom-Bornoo, a point about a mile and a quarter distant, would be a good situation for one; but the nearest fort in that direction is Riza, a distance of about four miles. My route back was over the country to Hunkiar Skalasi, passing near many heights, and across many valleys, a very woody and intricate district. The road, however, was good, striking into a causeway in the valley, which reaches the Bosphorus below Beikos, and which also leads to the village of Injir Kiol.

In my former excursion on the European side I passed at Yeni Mahalleh, on a crest above the Bosphorus, and nearly on the summit of the heights, a single high tree, visible at a great distance, and marking a point very well calculated for the site of a Martello Tower or other work. Works near the tower of Ovid would cover three of the bends or reservoirs, viz., Mahmoud, Validi, &c., which are now quite open and undefended. They would also command a view of all the coast.

From the height on which stands the old ruinous castle or convent on the European side, some way to the east of the tree mentioned, and above the batteries of Roomeli Kavac, the guns in these batteries might be dismounted without returning a shot, and shells might be thrown into the opposite fort of Anatoli Kavac from the same place, as it is not more than a mile from it.

Roomeli Kavac was built in the time of Sultan Mahmoud IV. to repel the attacks of Cossacks who then infested those seas. The batteries of Deli Tabia, Fil Bornoo, and Yousha, a large work below the Giant's Mountain, were constructed in the celebrated Hassan Capitan Pasha's time by Mounier, a French engineer, in 1794.

On a height, close to the wall of the European lighthouse, one gun might dismount several of those in the works below.

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#### APPENDIX.—No. 5.

##### *Excursion to the Walls of Constantinople.*

I TOOK advantage of a very agreeable January day, after a thaw which had followed a fortnight's frost and snow, to make the circuit of the city of Constantinople; and setting forth with the Kavass Mustapha, we descended through the small cemetery to the place of embarkation, immediately beyond the northern gate of Galata, called the Meit-Kapoo, and proceeded

in a cayique to the port of Eyoob. In this suburb is the mosque in which the Grand Seigneur, on coming to the throne, is invested with the sword of Othman—a ceremony equivalent to coronation in the case of European sovereigns.

In our progress up the harbour we had passed the fleet, which at that time was always brought into the stream in winter, close to the naval arsenal, and dismantled; and in spring was again equipped for sea, and anchored in the Bosphorus, freshly rigged and painted, with its batteries of brass guns, highly polished. The ships certainly presented a fine appearance, but the crews were miserable.

Having landed in the city, we procured horses, which carried us better than their appearance promised, over wretched ways. Preceded by a Suragee, or postilion, we passed through the thickly-peopled streets near the Aivan-Serai-Kapoo, or gate of the post-horse office (literally of the castle of animals—meaning horses), and immediately after leaving the gate we turned to the left and skirted the walls, on an old paved road of about fifteen feet in breadth, and in an execrable condition, leading to the sea on the other side of the peninsula, near the castle of the Seven Towers. Nothing could be more impressive and picturesque than the scenes through which the old causeway passes, although they possessed little variety. To the left were the ancient walls, of great height and thickness, faced with solid masonry, having at short intervals towers of various forms, but all of the same height—some being round, some square, and some polygonal. They have probably been little changed by the hand of man since Mahomet II. entered the city near 400 years ago, by a breach near the Top Kapoo, which is still visible; but they have not escaped so scathless from the ravages of time, and by this they have probably gained in the picturesque. Their colour is a reddish-grey, or light-brown, as the marble-looking limestone is mixed with Roman brick, and overgrown in many places with ivy. They may be compared to a succession of Gothic or Norman

castles extending for half a dozen miles, some of the towers being quite as large as those of such ancient buildings.

The whole give a grand impression of the power by which they were erected, even without placing implicit faith in several old Greek inscriptions chiselled on white marble tablets, which are to be seen high up the walls of several of the towers, and which assert that they were built by the Emperor Theodosius, in "twice thirty days." This, I presume, must allude to the particular towers which bear these inscriptions, and not to the entire wall of the city.

Such a ride by the ruined walls of one of the greatest seats of empire which has ever existed, but where now the population is so reduced that hardly a dwelling is to be seen or a passenger met with, presented melancholy evidence of the mutability and perishable character of all terrestrial things, and was in keeping with the scenery towards the country. A black forest of noble cypresses, forming a rough and neglected labyrinth of the gloomiest description, stretched towards the west on passing the old palace of the Greek Emperors, within the Egri Kapoo gate, while grey tombstones, the accumulations of ages, rose in myriads, looking, at first sight, like the stumps of felled timber; though when closely inspected, they are discovered to be almost all of marble, curiously carved, and covered with inscriptions, surmounted as usual with turbans of various forms. As we passed the Top Kapoo (gate of cannon), which may be remembered as a scene of the affecting death of Agnanosti, in Hope's "Anastasius," I observed a bier beneath, supporting the remains of some pious Mussulman. Both the bier and coffin were covered with drapery, of red and other bright colours; and at the head was a large turban of white muslin, wound round a crimson cap. Mustapha explained that this was a common practice, and that the body would remain at the gate until certain prayers had been offered up—probably till next day. Further on, at the gate of Silivria, beyond which is the burying-ground of the Greek



and Armenian Christians, we came up with the funeral of an Armenian, attended by priests chanting their burial service.

The Eastern Christians bury their dead a very few hours after their decease, in open coffins, clothed as during life; and as their robes are ample, and give great dignity of appearance, there is nothing very unbecoming in the usage. The Portuguese and Neapolitan catholics have the same custom; but their mode of clothing the corpse in a gay suit of clothes, and placing it on an open bier, is extremely revolting.

We soon after passed the cemeteries; but beyond them there was still less of the busy hum of men without the land-walls of Stamboul. We saw only a few labourers employed in the gardens, which here are very numerous, and were at that season teeming with fruit and vegetables—oranges and figs hanging on the trees till the middle of winter. Now and then, indeed, we met a party of passing horsemen, but they hurried along like ourselves without stopping.

After an hour's ride we found ourselves at the Seven Towers, and turned through the Yedi-Koolleler-Kapoo,\* as the gate is called, to examine that famous castle, once the terror of Christian ambassadors, when impending war with the barbarous race of Othman sometimes led to their incarceration in this prison till the restoration of peace. We entered the porch without dismounting, but not having taken the precaution of procuring an order from the Seraskier Pasha (Commander of the Land Forces), we were refused further ingress, and were obliged to confine our survey to the exterior. There are no longer seven towers standing; and we could perceive that two of those remaining had lately been patched up in slight paltry masonry, daubed over with a greyish wash, which gave them, notwithstanding their huge and massive proportions, something of the aspect of a castle in a Cockney's garden. The others stand unaltered.

\* Yedi Koolleler—Seven Towers.

The Golden or Beautiful Gate is believed by some to have stood at the Seven Towers; it is even imagined by some that it still exists there, though concealed by the masonry of the more modern castle. Its having occupied this site, however, is disputed. Hammer (who quotes the Chron. Alexand. in Phoca.) remarks (p. 213, I.), that the *μειση*, or great central street, led from the gate in a right line to the Imperial Palace, which stood on what is now called the Seraglio Point. We passed through some gardens within the walls, situated among vaulted ruins of fallen towers and buildings, resembling those among the remains of the palace of the Cæsars at Rome.

Opposite the Gate of Silivria is a row of five tombstones, erected by an Albanian as a tribute of gratitude to the family of the Pasha of Janina, well-known to many British officers stationed in former days at Corfu, and mentioned in the pages of "Childe Harold." They mark the spot where the heads of old Ali, his sons Mouchtar, Sahleh, and Veli, and his grandson Mahmout (Veli's son), were committed to the earth, after having been exposed, as usual in such cases, at the gate of the Seraglio, in consequence of their revolt. The Albanian had bought them from the chief executioner, who, among other perquisites, claims the heads of delinquent Pashas.

Lord Byron refers to the walls of Constantinople in a letter to his mother given in Moore's Life. The passage is as follows:—"The walls of the Seraglio are like the walls of Newstead Gardens, only higher, and much in the same order; but the ride by the walls of the city on the land side is beautiful. Imagine four miles of immense triple battlements, covered with ivy, surmounted with 218 towers, and on the other side of the road Turkish burying-grounds, the loveliest spots on the earth, full of enormous cypresses. I have seen the ruins of Athens, of Ephesus, and Delphi,—I have traversed a great part of Turkey, and many parts of Europe, and some of Asia; but I never beheld a work of nature or art that

yielded an impression like the present from the Seven Towers to the end of the Golden Horn."

Singularly enough Byron speaks also of the unfortunate grandson of the Pasha of Janina, whose head, as I have just stated, lies buried with those of four elder relatives, in one of the cemeteries he has mentioned:—"I remember," he says, "Mahmout Pacha, the grandson of Ali Pasha, at Janina, (a little fellow of ten years of age, with large black eyes, which our ladies would have purchased at any price, and those regular features which distinguish the Turks), asked me how I travelled so young without anybody to take care of me. This question was put by the little man with all the gravity of threescore," &c.

Mr. Walsh, who resided long at Constantinople as chaplain to the Embassy, says that the basis of the walls, near Blackarnes are Cyclopean; but I saw no masonry that was not in horizontal courses, which cannot, properly speaking, be termed the Cyclopean method of construction.

#### APPENDIX.—No. 6.

*Suggestions communicated by the Author relative to Campaigning Arrangements in Turkey.—(15th Feb. 1854.)*

THE character of the country is so like Spain, that I should say that nearly the same arrangements which suited there would be recommendable for Turkey.

Very slow carts are used only on the plains, and for any really active operations, I should say everything should be calculated for the pack-saddle, carrying two cwts. at most.

I should make all boxes, cases, and packages of every kind, of such size and shape, that they would go conveniently on each side of a mule or pack-horse—the latter are most used in European Turkey. Almost everything is conveyed in this

way, and the natives are very expert in this mode of transporting baggage.

I think the most convenient and cheapest way would be to hire animals and men all together from one head muleteer, furnishing a dozen or more, or he would probably contract for as many as a hundred if required; those furnishing ten or twelve being responsible to him, and he responsible for the whole. He should furnish pack-saddles and everything necessary. When a traveller has such means of transport, the muleteer finds the animals, and the charge is usually about a dollar (4s.) a-piece daily. They are, of course, well inspected when hired, and an engagement to keep up the number full and in good order entered into. If it is found impossible to hire, or if long halts in one place make it seem too expensive, then animals must be purchased, with their pack-saddles; and I should say that, even in this case, the saddles of the country (easily found in the bazaars) would be the ones chiefly to be trusted to.

As to tents, Turkish tents are not bad, and very cheap. The French Generals at Satory had very good and convenient tents; but I think all tents for Turkey should be lined with dark (blue or green) cotton stuffs, to turn the sun's rays in summer, as is common in India. They should also be made with walls.

*N.B.*—I like a square or angular tent, as high as convenient, with divisions in them, here and there, to turn up on the shady side and down on the sunny. Most Turkish tents as well as Indian, which we had in Persia, are made in this way, and the walls even take off for convenient carriage, and are stiffened with cane here and there, or other rods, which gives them stability.

Portable tables and seats are convenient; iron bedsteads, folding up of course, are good, to keep you out of the wet; and hair mattresses, light and not too thick, are the best. It is better to have several than one too clumsy. Feather pillows are not easily got, and are advisable. Plenty of good English

blankets too are very useful. Mats for the flooring of tents can be got there. As to canteens, every gentleman must be guided by his style of living, length of purse, and facilities of transport. Good English canteens are no doubt a great comfort in the field, when one has time to use them, and even in the house, in a semi-barbarous country. Cooking utensils must be suited to the cook, who is the best person to select them. The natives, of course, use their own kind of gear, generally a nest of copper pots, tinned within. They also carry a low iron grate and hearth, and use charcoal. I had seldom to wait more than three-quarters of an hour, when in the desert and in Syria last summer, after the tents were pitched, for my dinner. My cook was a Syrian, from Beyroot, who spoke English; and domestics of this kind are to be had at Pera—very hardy, handy fellows, and good caterers—very good assistants to even better artistes. To conclude the subject of *la lunche*, wine, ale, and all liquors are easily carried on pack-saddles by all who have means of transport. Usually they are to be had in plenty at Pera, and always at Malta. Hams, cheeses, and pickles, sauces, &c., &c. are also to be got there. These may be thought of by Generals as they are by rich travellers; and, for fear of a run, might be taken out per steamer from England. Musquito curtains must not be forgotten.

### *Clothing.*

I recommend clothing pretty warmly: the natives all do so, especially in marshy localities. I should prefer easy clothes—boots, and the pink and blue flannel shirts, worn by sportsmen and cricketers, are very good for roughing it.

Good water-proof boots, up to the knees, are very convenient; you pull them off when you dismount, and on again when required; clean with a sponge very easy. All old campaigners know how important it is to attend to the horse's back. I have found everywhere, that the English blanket,

which admits of being folded, so as to save every tender spot, and which has besides the virtue of keeping them off, by its not allowing the back to be suddenly chilled, is the best of all things to put under a saddle. It should be folded all as it is, without cutting, and the grooms ordered not to remove either it or the saddle from him after the horse comes in. Plenty of brown horse-blankets and horse-clothes very useful for cold nights. The natives use a thick felt saddlecloth (not so good as a blanket folded); and eastward they cover the horse with a great felt outer cloth, excellent to protect him. They call it a *rummud* in Persia; it goes over the ordinary horse-cloth at night or in rain.

I cannot think of anything more beyond ordinary campaigning or travelling arrangements; but if any information beyond what I have given is desired, it will give me the greatest pleasure to furnish it.

There is, by-the-bye, a kind of tent locked basket, covered with untanned skin (which I have seen also in Spain), very good for receiving all odds and ends, and saving a deal of arrangement. Also horse-hair bags for similar purposes.

Lord Raglan would certainly require a useful smaller set of tents for field operations, and a larger set for more stately and sedentary situations. The latter I should certainly get at Constantinople—indeed, all field equipage that I could I should get there—and if it is likely that the stay there will only be short, I should get them prepared immediately. Could no *avant-courier* of an aide-de-camp go off at once to prepare? The Consul-General and Consul there might be very useful in this.

By the way, the Turks use cotton for tents—much lighter, especially after rain, than canvas, which is terribly heavy, particularly when soaked with moisture.

I wish I had time to write you a *shorter* and better letter, but I am hurried to meet the post hour.

I shall write to you tomorrow about the other points in your letter.

*Feb. 21, 1854.*—About April you may expect delightful weather between Constantinople and Adrianople, like an English May, showery now and then. The country—green undulating downs of considerable height next the Sea of Marmora, growing more mountainous on the Black Sea side, and both divided by ravines like cracks in the rocky subsoil.

In some places, such as near Chatsalda, marshes are frequent, but at that season they are not yet unhealthy. However, their proximity as general encamping places should be avoided at all times as much as possible, and even posts and pickets should keep as high as possible. As the season advances the heat increases, and in July last year I felt the heat as strong at Constantinople as in Syria three weeks before. But on the Bosphorus, it is  $10^{\circ}$  lower (viz.  $70^{\circ}$ ) owing to the delightful fresh breeze from the Black Sea.

Therefore I would keep the men encamped towards the Black Sea as much within its influence as possible, and while quiet, have here convalescent posts for men who have been aguish, who might do duty there. If behind the line of Buyuk-Chekmagee and Chatsalda, it would be easy to keep the chief force well to the right, on ground possessing the advantage here mentioned. When obliged to occupy their fighting position they must take their chance.

August is very hot, but with it the heat ends, though not malaria, in marshy places. Sometimes when on high ground even, a current from some swamp coming up a valley produces fever. When this is felt, change the ground.

If you are to be near Adrianople, you have a long line; but I don't consider it marshy, except near the river; be very particular to keep the heights. Marmont talks much of the position there, but admits that it should have great works in its course, like the camp at Lentry, in order to be very showy: it could be turned, too, from the Black Sea side. It would require many men to garnish it, but would be ground for a great fight between large armies.

Everybody knows the bad character of the Bulgarian wall-shores of the Danube, as to marsh. The shorter time any troops remain there the better. Although it may be warm, don't dress coldly—suffer from heat, and change your flannel when you can before it gets cold. I have some good notes about the country immediately between Constantinople and the Black Sea, made on the spot, and intended as a stopper against a *coup-de-main* from the sea. When ready, I shall send them to you. They are very particular and exact.

THE END.







